CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C Y R U S.

By X E N O P H O N.

Translated from the GREEK

By the Late

Honourable Maurice Ashley, Efq;

To which is prefixed,

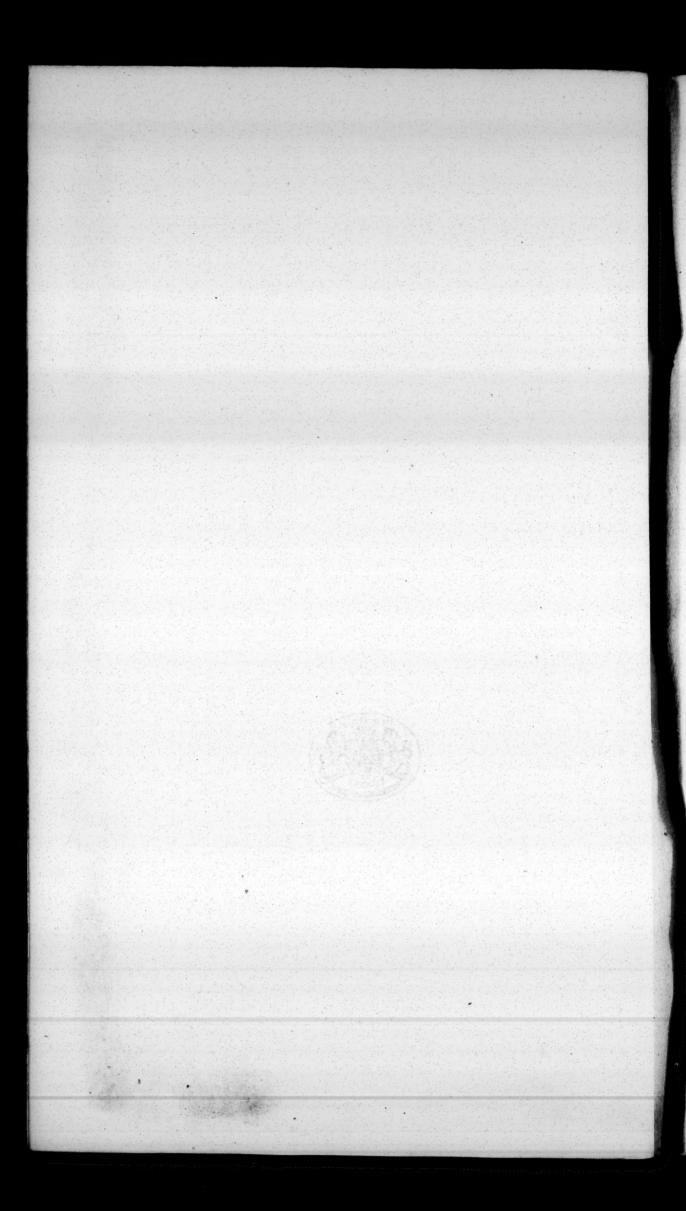
A Preface, by way of Dedication, to the Right Honourable the Lady ELIZABETH HARRIS.

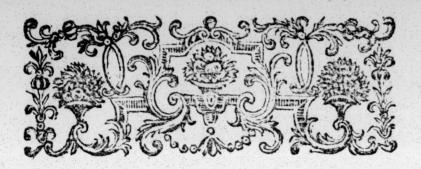
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TOTHE

Right Honourable the LADY

ELIZABETH HARRIS.

MADAM,

MAN who is indebted to the public for leisure, and for freedom from servile employment, is under obligation to acquire knowledge; and principally in religion, policy, and the art of war. You will in probability think, that morals ought to be added to the number; but as religion may be divided into two forts, real and political; and that real religion can by no means be disjoin'd from morals, it does not seem proper to mention them as a distinct head.

THE objects of the mind in real religion are the greatest in the world, the divinity, and

and all divine things. When the mind has imbib'd a full knowledge of these to its utmost capacity, it may be said to be religious; it then fees the divinity in all things; it fees it in human nature, and in all the laws of affection and duty in its feveral relations; it fees it in the whole world, and in every part of it, from the highest to the lowest productions, both animate and inanimate. The religious man thinks himself not to be*concealed from God in any of his motions. True sentiments of God are the foundation of our dues to him: true knowledge of our felves fettles our duty in that respect likewise, and establishes a rule of rating the value of our felves and others, different from that of the multitude. The dignity of the more divine part of man is afferted +: the Cafars, Herods, and Pilates, the high priests, and scribes; the powerful, the rich, and the many, are of no note here*. False opinions, and an over valuation of riches, honours, and all the other meaner concerns of life, whence all vice arises, cannot be entertain'd where this knowledge is. ‡ Our duty may indeed be divided into three parts

* Arrain. Epict. Lib. i c. 12. 14.

[†] Mat. xx. 25. xxi. 23, 31. xxii. 16, &c. xxiii. 2, &c. xxvii. 20.

^{*} Luke vi. 24, &c. Mat. v. 29, 30.

[†] Ench. Epict. c. 37, 38, &c.

parts, as fettled by our three principal relations; to God, to other men, and to our felves; and they may be differently term'd, but they are but the main branches of the one moral science. If morals be disjoined from their relation to what is divine, and confin'd to a certain fystem of manners, contriv'd for the regulation of our own personal concerns of body and mind, and to guide us in our conduct amongst men, they then become something entirely different from what is before meant, and they dwindle into an Epicurean moral, an art of fettling certain rules of behaviour upon a principle of interest, convenience, or pleasure. The case of religion is alike ill when so disjoin'd from human concerns; for then is the divine Being like Epicurus's divinities, confined to the highest heavens, and unconcern'd in the administration of the lower world. And this, in the Epicureans, was but excluding providence from the world with a fort of compliment, that feems to have been intended as a skreen from the reproach of atheism rather than to have arisen from any real opinion of fuch beings: but real religion is the fummit and completion of all knowledge; runs through all, and arises from collecting what is divine in all things. *The fowls of the air are fed; the stature of man is limited; † the lillies of the field are cloath'd by providence; without it a bird falls not to the ground, nor a hair from the head: this is christanity, or the doctrine of our saviour, is real religion, and is not to be found but in the mind of the wise and good, and of the few t who enter in at the strait gate.

Bur when religion comes to be spoken of as a national establishment, it is no longer the real, but makes part of the state: it has its lawful forms and ceremonies under the administration of its ministers. who are regulated by the state, and paid for their fervice. One may very juftly think that he has but little knowledge of christanity and real religion, who does not fee the evident difference: if they are the fame, then were the * Ephefian filverfmiths, and the Sacheverells of all ages, and their followers, extreamly religious: for great zealots they certainly were for the political religion: but in the reality they had no knowledge, and had nothing to do with it.

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^{*} Mat xxvi. 26, 27, 28.

[†] Mat. x. 29.

[‡] Mat. vii. 13.

^{*} Acts xix. 23.

THE different turns that have been given to establish'd religions, as governments have differ'd from each other, or chang'd within themselves, will serve to illustrate this distinction of religion into real and political. The Greek religion differ'd remarkably in cities and people that differ'd in their genius and policy. The best and bravest of the Greeks applied their principal worship to the noblest and most chaste of their deities, as to Juno or Pallas: others of them, that were more tyrannical in their form of civil govenment, and more loose in their manners, address'd their principal worship to a Venus or Bacchus. The fame deities had a chafte and decent worship paid them in one place; and in another a more pompous one, and more loofe. This partiality of particular cities and people to particular deities, as their different forms of government and genius lead them, is intimated in Homer by the great partiality he expresses in particular deitites to particular cities and people. This divine partiality reach'd even to private men, and differ'd according to their characters: one deity favour'd Achilles; another Ulysses; another Paris: as amongst states, which are political persons, and different in characters, one deity favour'd Athens, another Argos, and another Paphos. The Roman religion, by the account

of their historians, * was more plain and decent in their earlier and better times; but in the time of Julius Cæsar it was become full of lewdness and extravagance. Not very long after Julius, christianity arose; it was the real and true religion in the breafts of its few true professors, long before its name was embrac'd by multitudes, armies, and emperors, and so became the publick religion. After this its establishment, what has been the variety of forms it has appear'd in? thro' many changes it 'at last appear'd in the compleat papal form, which long prevail'd almost over all Christendom. And in this form, how many mean turns has it ferv'd? how has it been made subservient to the interest of princes and priefts that were its votaries? about two hundred years ago, establish'd christianity took another turn, and appears now in feveral nations in different forms. But in England particularly, and fince the change made at the reformation, how have fome of our priefts used it in different turns of government? many have made it a fupport of the tyranny of princes, and destructive of the civil rights of men. Real christianity mean while is none of all these changeable establishments and human institutions, nor ever can be; but stands up-

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^{*} Plutarch's Life of Numa, Dionysius Halicar, Lib, ii.

on its own foot; and whether it be the religion of the multitude, and national, or not national, or whatever be the forms of it in national establishments, is one and the same in itself, firm, and unalterable, and will undoubtedly remain to the end of the world, whether own'd or not own'd by any publick establishment indifferently.

If it can still be objected that real religion and christianity is now become the established and political religion; and that of consequence, they are the same, and not to be distinguished, I must in answer repeat, that real religion is the science of the divinity, and of all things divine; and is to be learn'd from the great volume of nature, as well as from scripture; as Geometry from Euclid; and other sciences from like means. And every man is fo far knowing in a science, as he has applied his own faculties to the laws of it: for no man is mafter of any science by another's understanding. This, therefore, stands entirely upon private judgment, and must ever do so. Established religion is a form of public worship, chosen by the public; and its rules are prescribed by the political power, with certain persons appointed to administer in it according to those settled rules. The political power of this nation has accordingly established a B

form, and has provided abundantly, both for the education and maintenance of men to officiate in it; has ordered them in public discourses to instruct the people in real religion, as far as they are capable of it; and has appointed them the scripture, as the rule and measure of their instructions; with certain canons, articles, and rubricks, limiting times, forms, and ceremonies, farther than the scripture does; and, in fome instances, limiting likewise points of faith. But this it does modeftly; with acknowledgment of its own fallibility; and, in confequence of this concession, it allows a liberty to diffent. Now this stands upon the public judgment of the state. When, therefore, by foreign force or intestine broils the political frame is diffolved, all this form falls to the ground. But real religion certainly cannot be faid to fall with it, unless one make all religion to be merely political, and a creature of the state; which is direct atheism. And, even while this christian form happily subfists under a quiet government, and that nine parts in ten of a whole people embrace it, certainly no real christian will fay that nine parts in ten of fo great a multitude are fincere, true, and real christians; that the common herd of men, who are under a necessity of giving their whole time to the procuring themfelves necessaries; or the men of business, who addict themselves to gain; or the prince or grandee, who proftitutes his time to pleasure and diversion, are truly christian and religious upon principles of It must be owned, indeed, that science. the very worst and most ignorant of the multitude may have great zeal for the eftablished religion; and this zeal, under wicked leaders, has raised the greatest tumults and diforders amongst men, and has carried christians by profession to actions extreamly unchristian and inhuman. Real and established christianity must therefore be distinct, since they never fall together, and that they subfift together but in few instances. If religion have any thing to do with science or knowledge, this must be true. But there are many, I fear, that strike religion out of the catalogue of fciences, and lift it among the blind paffions of men; as does Hobbs, who defines religion as a fear of power invisible, from tales publickly told. And between him and fome certain managers of religion there is this difference, that he would have his civil fovereign be the only authentic teller of these tales; and these divines would be the tellers of them themselves. Both equally enemies to the understandings of men; but antagonists to each other about who shall hold the tyranny.

THE mention of Mr. Hobbs suggests likewife fome affertions of his, relating to man in the state of nature, and which perhaps may not feem to be entirely foreign to the present subject. He makes the natural state of man to be a state of war and enmity against each other; where there is no rule of just and unjust, right and wrong; where power is the only measure of right; and where fear and love of power are the chief passions of men. Now, had he been describing the state of men who had long lived under a political form of government; and who, upon the diffolution of it, had broken out into all the irregularities possible; a prince on one side claiming a sovereignty independant upon all human authority, and his partifans supporting him with arms, without much pretence to religion, and without regard to justice or honesty; and the chief leaders of the opposite faction, acting with as little regard to natural justice, under a mask of fanctity and religion; he had then, indeed, made a just and natural description of such a state of man. But if he calls this the natural state of the human creature, as it came out of the hands of God, before its having loft its natural rule and law of life, before its being rendered corrupt and artificial, it feems evidently abfurd. But Mr. Hobbs may be excused; for, as he charges the the antient writers of politics with copying the political schemes from the antient commonwealths, so he plainly copied his picture of the human mind, and of his commonwealth, from his own mind, and from the state of things as he had feen them in those confused times, which had undoubtedly made that unfortunate impression of fear upon his mind, and gave it so wrong a turn. But if one confider every species of creatures in the world, there is a certain natural rule and law of life belongs to each, with respect to their food and fustenance, to their living in herds, or otherwife, to their defence against beafts that are naturally their enemies, to the founds they are to express their fears, their pains, their wants, and their pleafures; with respect to their places of rest, and to the whole economy of their young. Our common cattle, when wild, and in their natural state, have a natural rule in all these several respects. They essect each other's company, and accordingly they herd; and when they are grazing, if a beast of prey appear, * the bull issues out for the sake of the herd: Or + when they are attacked by man, there's a general motion amongst them, whilst the bulls advance, and place themselves in front against their adver-

* Arrian. Epict. l. i. c. 2.

[†] Dampier. Vol. II. Part ii. Page 99.

adversaries, the cows range themselves behind their males, and the young retire behind all. They understand each other's founds, and are affectionately careful of their young. This natural frame of paffions in each species of animals distinguishes the kinds and the sexes; and the characters of the feveral animals are as much constituted by this inward form, as they are distinguished by the outward: the lion and the tyger are both creatures of prey; but in the character of the lion 'tis faid, that man has observed a ‡ fort of generofity and gratitude, that is not in the The elephant is entirely different from both the last mentioned; and has a character particular to itself: and so of all other creatures. The human creature, without doubt, has likewife from nature its inward frame, and a certain rule of life accordingly. If the words right and wrong, just and unjust, be only applicable to the arbitrary limitations of property, made by men already formed into political fociety, fo let them be? they are then not to be applied to the natural state. But, if in the instance before, the bull should defert its part, and take the station of the cow or calf; if the cow should devour the young;

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or the calf should fear its own species, be averse to it, and herd with goats or sheep; one might be allowed to fay, that this would be erring from the rule of nature; one might call it deformed, ugly, unnatural, and monstrous; as a steady adherence to this rule might be called beautiful, comely, natural, and being true to its part. Beauty and deformity are not more evidently applicable to the outward form, than to this inward one. Then, as to the character of the human creature in its natural state, without doing great wrong to ourselves in that state, and violence to our judgments in this, we cannot but think that we should naturally be as great lovers of each others company as any other creature whatever; and, of confequence, should herd, and be focial, ready to hazard ourselves for others of our kind, and for our young. It is not easy to imagine that we should be naturally savage and cruel: we should certainly have a horror and aversion to the feeding upon warm slesh and blood of expiring creatures, which fome animals do with pleasure: we should as certainly loath and avoid the fight and fmell of rotten carcases, which is the delight of others; our food would be of another kind: we should certainly have as great an affection to our young, as any other creature has to theirs: we should certainly

tainly be as fagacious as any, in providing either in common, or otherwise, for all our little needs in that state, and, perhaps, a great deal more than any other. what our natural language would be; what our food would confift of; how the order and rule between male and female, with respect to themselves and to their young, would then stand, both as to the continuance and manner of that particular relation; these are things that are not to be limited with any certainty now. in the whole, it feems evident enough, that we are naturally a mild, gentle, fociable, and * compassionate creature. Ambition, and grasping at high posts in the state, and our present artificial set of passions, and the barbarous transgressions of rule and order that have followed upon them, belong not to that state of things. natural state of ours, was the golden age of the antient heathen world; and if the account that Moses gives of paradise before the fall be allegory, and not fact, as Dr. Burnet in his Archæologia afferts, our natural state was certainly represented by that allegory. Befides, there feems to be little reason to doubt, but that men under civil government would be as manageable by

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their magistrates, as flocks and herds by their pastors and shepherds, were it not for the vice and ignorance of fuch human herdsmen and pastors; did but they, as + Xenophon fays, act their part with understanding and skill. And then, even upon the dissolution of government, and things being brought to confusion, as there is in all things a beautiful rule and order fet by nature, so here would there be still a rule. The arrogant, the proud, the ambitious, fuch as thought all their fellow-creatures made to ferve their ends, would act without regard to religion, to faith, to all that was excellent and beautiful; and the extent of their power would be their only measure: but perhaps a few would still be faithful, modest, brave, human, and religious, and would act or fuffer handsomely: at least there would be an evident difference in the characters of men so left to themfelves, in proportion to their fense of this natural and divine rule, and this was preferved untainted in their minds, and not fullyed or obliterated by vile and unnatural fentiments and passions.

By what has been before faid, it may be decided, whether the independance of C religion religion upon civil government may be justly claimed, or no. The thing decides itself plainly: real religion is a mental thing; * It is not here nor there, but within us; + It is not of this world. Or had it been so, our Saviour had made an appeal to arms, and to the powers of this world. It is absolutely independent, and has nothing to do with the magistrate: it is a thing of a noble nature, and its truths are yet less subject to political jurisdiction, than mathematical truths, which it would be ridiculous to fay, that the magistrate ought to decide in. But to fay that the government has nothing to do with the national religion, which itself established and made national, feems very abfurd: and for the ministers, whose forms are prescribed them by the political power, whose priviledges are limited by the same, who are indebted to the public for their education and maintenance; to fay, that they are independent upon it, feems a little arrogant. It is, undoubtedly, proper that every nation should have their artists in religious concerns, as the # Persians had; but if these men affert, that they are the

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^{*} Luke xvii. 21.

⁺ John xviii. 36.

[‡] Cyropædia.

that

last resort in affairs of religion, let the priesthood consist of those who, of all the proprietors of the territory, are most venerable for nobility of birth, for wisdom, for years passed with untainted integrity; these will be better directors than the necessitous, the mean of birth, the unwise, and the young; but can be no more than proposers and helps to men in their choice; the last resort remains still with the choosers.

When the public, therefore, has chosen its religion, which must be done, both that it may discharge its own duty, and to prevent the multitude's being left undirected, and at the mercy of superstition, and every private guide, it may then be asked whether this religious establishment ought to be imposed upon all private men? that it may be imposed by power is certain; for the magistrates and multitude, or the absolute monarch and his army, after having made their own choice, may act in this as they please. they are heathen, they may impose the worship of plurality of gods: if they are turks or jews they may oblige a man to deny our Saviour to be the Christ and son of God: if corrupt pretenders to christianity, they may oblige one to fay that christianity is what it is not: and they may, any of them, if they please, oblige one to say, that there are no antipodes; that eclipses will not happen according to aftronomical observations; that the three angles of a triangle are not equal to two right ones; or, upon refusal, they may inflict punish-But will and power are ment at will. often used unjustly and unwisely. papacy is well known to use this imposing power; and Hobbs, who is a passionate advocate of arbitrary power, recommends this use of it in his Leviathan. But there feems not to be much justice or humanity, and as little of christianity in the practice. And with respect to these impositions in affairs of religion, and the mifery that ever attends them, the case seems to be this: that they are not the original cause of mifery and confusion, but the corrupt effects only of the diffolution or imperfection of political forms of government, or of ignorance and vice in princes. For, if a decent form of religion be established by the political power, there will be but few that will be differting from it; and a liberty in this kind is what the generofity, justice, and benignity of good governments will always allow. But, if the political orders are broken, and the multitude deprived of their orderly guidance and leading, they then form themselves into separate herds, as ignorance, superstition, and corrupt interests lead them; and fall foul

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of one another. And this is the fertile foil of tyranny: hence fprung the Cæfars, the Mahomets, the Fopes, and the Cromwells: creatures of multitudes, that have been destitute of the blessing of just and wise political orders. And in fuch circumstances of men, the laws of justice and humanity find no place. So that when men hear of ftrange abfurdities imposed, and great cruelties practifed in confequence of them, instead of venting a great deal of wrath against the craft and wickedness of priests, they ought rather to lament the distempers that focieties of men are subject to. As for instance: The Romans were a society of men formed from a collection of thieves and plunderers; who, when they had fixed themselves a habitation, made it a spunge to collect criminals of all forts, and fuch as were too vile to subsist under their own governments. The way that their historians took to render their original divine, was, by relating that the god of war debauched a priestess protessing christianity: from this conjunction of war and violence with unchastity, and breach of religious profession, there came the two youths. that fucked the milk of a female beaft of prey: one of these youths murdered the other, and founded Rome However this fable may have been taken as compliment, it looks like the artful contrivance of some Greek.

Greek, to give, under this disguise, a character of the Roman state. This city, thus formed, proceeded upon its first principles, and made its progress by plunder and rapine; had little else in its frame, but what was military: their booty and conquests were distributed, indeed, but never justly, even under what they call their commonwealth. * The common people were generally abused and cheated in it, though there were perpetually quarrels about their dividends. And as this city, at last, enslaved almost the whole world, so it destroyed every thing that carried the face of civil government. Then it corrupted still further within itself, and changed into a monstrous tyranny. Letters, arts, and sciences sunk throughout the world. Then, when this tyranny corrupted and decayed, the ecclefiastical leviathan began to raise its head; and when it fell quite to pieces, and became divided into feveral parts independent upon each other, the ecclefiaftical republic afferted its dominion over all; and in the midst of these ruins formed its independent policy. When, therefore, the corruption of civil governments, and the ignorance of princes, has given existence to such forms, can it

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^{*} Plutarch, Vid. Num.

be expected that men should be false to their own public? can it be thought that men who are train'd up from their youth in a certain order and form, distinct from the civil, without dependance upon it, or expectations of honours or rewards, but in degrees and orders of their own, and under their own governors, should act for an establishment foreign to their own? When they must know that their own foundations stand upon the ruin of civil forms, and must owe their continuance to the depression of them? mens zeal in this case is not to be wondered at. If they who are in the civil interest will entirely discharge themselves of the noblest knowledge in the world, of all judgment in what is pleafing or displeasing to God, and will leave the fovereign decision in these matters to others, it is certainly just that they to whom these matters are thus left, should prescribe to those who are thus abandoned to ignorance; should tell them how to behave in their families; how to govern their own persons; how to act in converse and dealings with others; how to act in the public; and should dictate to them in all things. the particular policy of these divines ought, with still more reason, to be left entirely to themselves. Some nations have, indeed, protested against this hierarchy; and in most others there is a greater disposition to judge judge for themselves, than is pleasing to the ecclefiastics. Letters, science, and arts, have within these two or three centuries revived. But if the civil forms, that are now established in the world, moulder away to nothing, by means of the corruption and ignorance of the managers, the ecclefiaftics will justly become their masters. For, as * Cyrus says, "God has so esta-" blished things, that they who will not " impose upon themselves the task of la-" bouring for their own advantage, shall " have other task-masters given them." Supposing, then, that the ecclesiastics have reduced the rest of men to their obedience, as every the meanest priest is entitled to rife to the highest dignities; and, when admitted to his freedom in the hierarchy, is not debarred from knowledge and letters, as those of the laity are; as their monarch and grandees are elective, and not hereditary; and the absolute sovereignty is not lodged in the fingle person, but that their general councils claim a share with him in it; the body of them ought then to take care that their own chiefs do not affect a tyranny over them, and ferve them as Cæfar did Rome. And then if the virtue of their frame be preserved till after they have broken

^{*} Cyropædia.

broken the lay-interest to pieces, they may then, perhaps, assume the sword into their own hands, as the templers, who were an order amongst them, were once possessed of it; and may come to think it fit to transmit the property of the world to their own children, and not choose their successors from amongst the children of their servants and vaffals This will be the fpring of a new civil interest, much wifer than that upon whose ruins it is built; and it will continue fo, while the ingenuous and free cultivate knowledge, and hold the fword. But let them once give up knowledge, and drop the fword into the hands of hirelings, they must submit to the consequence of having their fervants become their masters. The priesthood, thus supposed masters of the world, may then, perhaps, divide themfelves into distinct governments, by distinct territories. And though they are not now fo divided, yet they ought, in truth, to be accounted a civil government within themfelves, distinct from all others. And if one confider the share of property and revenue that they are possessed of in the several countries of Europe, they will be found to be a very great and powerful state. Mean while it matters not what the things are that are imposed upon men, who give up their judgments in the greatest concerns; for even truths published for mens

belief, when received without knowledge and understanding, are no better than tales and forgeries.

As religion is divided into two heads of fcience, fo may virtue be divided into feveral; as, for inflance, into real political, and military, as well as others. The real falls into the head of morals, and real religion; and is one and the fame thing under feveral names. But temperance, with respect to eating and drinking, to be able to deny one's felf one's usual rest, ability to undergo toil and labour, to fleep in open air, contempt of danger and death; these are military virtues, may arise from custom and institution, or from necessity, or from ambition, and may be the virtues of robbers and pyrates. The hero in the following papers will give you cause to think of this distinction, particularly in his speech when he is grown a man, and is fetting out upon his * Median expedition, as well as upon many other occasions.

What is here fent you to take up some hours of your leifure, relates to religion, as well as to politics and war, though this last seems to be the chief subject of it.

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As to politics, the account given of the Medes and Affyrians, the luxury and effeminacy of the Median court, the absolute dependance of all upon the prince's will, the effeminacy and meanness of the people, the poorness of their military discipline, the manner of protecting the territory by fortreffes and garrifons, the waste of lands upon the borders inhabited only by wild beafts, shew the nature of arbitrary governments. The noble orders established amongst the Persians, the education of the ingenuous amongst them, the rights of fovereignty lodged in a public council, and laws of public weal established as guides both to prince and people, bravery in the people, and wisdom in their military discipline, shew the virtue and power of free governments. There feems indeed to be fomething in the story that fuggests this defect to be in the Perfian frame; that the free, the ingenuous, the gentlemen, the noble, (call them by which name you please,) are reduced to too little a number; and too fmall a number of great-ones commonly implies their riches to be too great with respect to the rest of the people: or if the riches and power of the gentleman be but inconfiderable, and that the people have them not, then the prince remains too weighty in the scale, and the rest are but dependants and fervants. Now in ei-

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ther of these cases, the ambition of great families, or that of the fingle one, always prevents the division of the riches and estates amongst greater numbers, and presses on to further increase, till the few become yet fewer, or the fingle one yet greater; and at last, either the prince, or one of the over-grown few, by riches and numerous dependants, assumes the tyranny: then to him all become fervants, his will is then the only law: he must hold his power by an army; and to compleat all, must hold his own head at the will of that army. This shews the folly of the abettors of arbitrary fway, who pronounce it to be so vile a thing, for the prince to be faid to hold his power at the will of the multitude. Whereas the prince must of necessity hold at the will of a multitude. For supposing him to have destroyed the interest of the honest multitude, who were in possession of the lands and commerce of a country, and to have subjected their power by means of an army, he must then of necessity hold his own power at the will of that multitude of mercenaries. Whoever knows any thing of the story of the Roman and Turkish armies and emperors, and confiders the nature of things, must fee that an absolute prince is a creature and fervant of a military multitude, and ever comes uppermost when the mercenary crew have destroyed the civil power. that in politics the voice of the people is the voice of God, and multitude must and will be the last refort here. * Julius Casar, and all the able attempters of tyranny in the antient world, understood their art too well to be ignorant of this, and accordingly they laid themselves out entirely in the culture and fervice of their armies, and of fuch part of the civil multitude as were most corrupt and necessitous; their own private fortunes were entirely facrificed to this. All that they acquired by conquest, was applied to this; as well as all that they could plunder from their governments and fellow citizens; for upon this did their fovereignty depend. Octavius the nephew and heir of Julius, could not entirely gain his point till by little arts of his own, and by the folly of his competitors the most and best of the legions were brought to declare for him, and to establish him fovereign. Where therefore was the last resort and foundation of sovereignty in this case? It belongs only to the poor pedantic modern patrons of tyranny, who mix religion and politics together, to talk of fovereignty by divine right, + indepen-

† Clarendon's History.

^{*} Dyonif. Halicar. upon Aristodemus, Lib. vii. Suetonius, Lib. i.

dent upon human authority, and accountable only to God; and it belongs only to very weak and conceited affectors of tyranny to give ear to fuch poor instructors. There is no manner of doubt but that it has been one of the most common arts of tyranny to bring heaven and all that is facred upon earth into its interest! * Pisistratus, when restored to the tyranny at Athens, dreffed up a woman to personate the goddess Pallas, as if the goddess favoured him fo far as to introduce him, and attend in her own person at his restoration. Julius Cæsar in an oration he made at the funeral of an aunt, derived himself by his grandmother, from Ancus, one of the kings of Rome; and by his father from the goddess Venus. After his death, and at the celebration of the first honours paid him as a god, a blazing star appeared, which was given out and by fome believed to be the foul of Julius, received into heaven among the deities. Others of the Roman monarchs were likewise deified; so that the elder Vespasian made a jest of it; and when he was taken violently ill, he cried out, I believe I am going to be a god. A multititude of things of this kind might be mentioned. There is a natural gratitude in the

^{*} Herodotus, Lib. i.

the people to the descendants of those that have been benefactors to men, or are thought to have been fo; and a natural deference to fuperior and divine powers; and erectors of tyranny who have had neither knowledge of God, nor regard to him themselves, nor love to man, always act the impostors; and abuse and play upon the understandings and passions of the multitude. The claim of divine right is the modern art; and princes would undoubtedly have still more divinity and fanctity bestowed upon them, as they had in old days, if the ecclefiaftics were not competitors with them in it, and could spare it from themselves. But even these frauds can never be of any effect, if they fail of their intended influence upon the people. Cæfar therefore trusted to other means; he never talked fo idly of fovereignty, protection, and obedience, as fome modern dealers in politics, * who confound themselves and others with these words. Cæfar's empire, and that of Cyrus, mentioned in the following papers, were not built upon fuch foundations. Absolute sovereignty is never applicable to a prince whether at the head of a legal government, or of a tyranny. For in a legal government, the prince has

law

^{*} Clarendon's History.

law for his rule, as well as the people; his property and rights are limited by that rule; and so are those of the people. The laws and orders of government are the protection both of prince and people: but if the prince affect to be absolute sovereign and lord of all, he must nurse up and cultivate a body of foldiery fufficient for the work, and unite them in interest with him to diffolve the legal frame: then, if he fucceeds, the people are indeed protected; as the people of Turky are protected; and as the people of Rome were under their emperors; and the army becomes the prince's protection; and in reality fovereign. how fuch fovereignty differs from tyranny; how such protection differs from power to oppress; and how such obedience and subjection differs from servitude, can never be made out. And as tyrannies rife thus in a particular state; so great empires, that are but extended tyrannies, make their way through the world by the vice and impotence of neighbouring states. Whereas, by order within themselves, friendship and good faith with each other, little states repel the impotent attacks of great empires that are powerful only by the vice and weakness of their neighbours. Such hints in the course of the story, and the observations that may be made upon them, feem to me to let one more into political knowledge,

ledge, than most of the books and pamphlets that are now written upon that subject.

THE advices given, with respect to the art of war are obvious; and with all their plainness are more than most of our present military men now think of.

And the few instructions with respect to the established religion and the priests of those days, are not unapplicable to our present times. Nor can it be said but that the spirit of piety and deference to superior powers which runs through the whole though blended with the established rights, does in some measure relate to real religion, and must needs be pleasing to those who have a sense of it.

The following papers contain a plain translation of the Cyropædia or institution of Cyrus written by Xenophon, who lived about four hundred years before the birth of our Saviour, in an age productive of great men; though it was the age in which expired those noble forms of government, to which all future ages are indebted for literature, and all noble knowledge. He saw the republics of Greece, after their brave defence against the Persian power in the age before, by wars amongst themselves nursed up a brood of mercenaries to be their

their own destruction, which was compleated by Philip of Macedon at the battle of Chæronea. He was a friend and disciple of Socrates, that great man who was a remarkable instance of what is before observed * with respect to the consequences of broken governments; for he fell a facrifice to faction; and one of his accusations was a difregard to the established religion, he who had evidently the utmost regard to real religion, had as much knowledge of it as was possible; and was ever strictly obfervant of the established forms: his disciple Xenophon felt likewise the displeasure of his countrymen the Athenians, for his partiality to the interests of Sparta, and of consequence for not favouring the turbulent ambitious measures that his own city approved. Xenophon was extremely beautiful in his person; + and had great modesty and goodness of temper. He was a man of great knowledge and learning; but it was of an ingenuous, noble gentlemanlike fort, not fedentary, nor pedantic, and not fervile, as all learning may justly be called that is acquired to get money or maintenance by; he was a great master of political and military skill; he was extreamly

* Page 16.

⁺ Diog. Laer. Life of Xenophon.

treamly religious, and very knowing in all the established rights and ceremonies, of which he was a strict observer upon all occasions. The precept he puts into the mouth of Cambyses father of Cyrus, never to engage in any action without confulting the gods, makes a remarkable paffage in his book to this purpose. He puts several cases wherein men had fadly miscarried by means of neglect in this kind, and though he do not name persons, yet it seems evi= dent that he had his eye to particular men well known to himself and to his countrymen in those days. And what he says of certain perfons who had engaged their country in ruinous wars, feems evidently meant of Alcibiades, who engaged the Athenians in other wars, as well as particularly that of Sicily; * which brought destruction or fervitude upon all fuch of them as were personally engaged in that service, and in the consequence occasioned the loss of their government and city. "Alcibiades was likewife very beautiful in his person, was undoubtedly master of many civil arts; had eloquence, bravery, and military skill: but with respect to religion and virtue, he was the reverse of Xenophon; he had no sense of it, but was what one may justly call a free-

^{*} Plutarch's Life of Alcibiades.

free-thinker of those days, and expressed it by a contempt of what his country held facred. Xenophon's manner of pointing him out thus, allowing the application to be just, seems a direct charge upon him of impiety; and history sufficiently justifies that charge.

As free-thinking is an expression that has caused some discourse in the world, and may admit of different fenses; perhaps you will not think it improper that some mention should be made of it. It may fignify a roving excercise of the mind, running over all or any of the subjects of science idly and superficially without binding itself to any settled judgment of the truth of things, as if there were no such thing as a rule of truth in nature. So liberty in government may be defined a liberty to act as will and humour guides without regard to justice or law; as if there was no such thing as justice to limit man in his conduct. Julius Cæsar said, * that his words were to be taken for laws; that commonwealth and public good was nothing; a mere name; without body or form. + Virtue, say the freethinkers of this fort, is a mere word, as,

a Ja-

^{*} Suetonius Jul. Cæs. + Horace, Epist. 6. lib. i.

a facred grove is only a sanctified expression for a parcel of sticks. But true political liberty confifts in a strift severe obedience to just and equal laws, and orders, established for the public good; and it is called liberty as it excludes dependance upon will and pleasure, which is tyranny. So just freedom of thought is true science, which confilts in the necessary determination of the understanding to the truth of things, when every means of discovering it has had its due weight in order to make the evidence compleat, and the decision just. But then, if any one thing affect the mind above its due proportion, the impression it makes prevents the mind's submission to truth. And if the impression be very great, it causes madness and establishes a tyranny in the mind; to which the overgrown power of a prince or grandees in the state may be compared as diffraction and madness in government. Admiration of riches, of grandeur, of beauty of person, and other strong impressions, tyrannize often in mens minds, obstruct right judgments in religion and morals, and cause wrong practice; and love, grief, or fear, when excessive, overturns the found constitution of a mind; and foundness and consistence of mind may be called freedom, as it excludes this tyranny of passion. As passion is a domestic oppression of liberty of mind,

fo are there a fort of foreign oppressors of These are the Hobbists and the favourers of ecclefiastical tyranny. No real religion in the world fay these men; no rule of right, or public good in the state; no virtue in man; but all depends upon tales authorized and laws imposed by power and will. Now true freedom of thought here is to affert a providence, wisdom and intelligence in the world; a rule and order in focieties of men upon the bottom of public good; virtue and worth in man; and a rule of truth in all things, which to discover is man's wildom; and follow it in his virtue, freedom and happiness. But the abettors of freethinking now a-days, feem to be men who having got a few steps above the bigottry of the poor multitude, are transported out of themselves, * exult at their own imagined elevation, look down upon the rest men as wandring in the paths of error; and this they do with pleasure. + They address themselves with Lucretius to their goddess Venus, and her attendant pleasures, and cultivate them in a vitious way; they ridicule what the public holds facred; they represent religion as a spectre oppressing the minds of men; and

exclude

^{*} Lucretius Lib. ii. V. 7. + Ibid. Lib. i. V. 1, &c. V. 63. 79.

exclude deity from the world. These anfwer to the ancient Epicureans; though none of them perhaps are equal to their patron Epicurus, who seemed to have more worth and goodness than was consistent with his own maxims.* There was in antient times another fort of men who between the affertors of providence and virtue on one fide, and the abettors of atheism and pleasure on the other, opposed both of them in their opinions and in the proofs they brought to establish them. were the sceptics; and they maintained a total suspence of opinion, and absence of passion. + They were men of great ability in reasoning; and seemed to have laboured fo much in the culture of that art, that they loft fight of truth and certainty. There may have been perhaps in our times certain free-thinkers, affected mimicks of these men; but they seem to be far short of them in their intense application of mind. These modern scepticks would scarce let their hair and nails grow like Carneades, ‡ nor be in danger of being over-run by chariots, torn by dogs, or of falling down precipices without minding or avoiding it

like

^{*} Cicero Jus. Quest. Lib, ii.

[†] Diog. Laera. Pyrrho.

Diog. Laert.

like Pylrho. They are rather loofe rovers through various opinions, fincere in none; using any opinion to defeat a contrary one; borrowing arguments from the atheists to oppose the religionist, and borrowing from the religionist to defeat the atheist and Epicurean; adversaries at times to all. This is so far from strict application of mind, that it is an idle diffolute prostitution of it; and may be compared to the behaviour of fuch men in the state who favour neither one scheme nor another, nor close with any interest fincerely, nor are fincerely neuter; but as it ferves their turn are occasionally zealous for every party, which is profitution in politics. turn of mind has the same effect in private life, it acts the frolicksome, the burlesque, and the gay; the fober, the ferious, the austere; the religious and the profane, as humour guides, or as there is a turn to ferve. It maintains no one genuine perfonage but has a different mask for every different scene; and it regards neither justice nor truth. This is proftitution of another kind; and profitution of person compleats the corrupt character. * Alcibiades and Julius Cæfar had their share of this character. And to instance in one of a de-

^{* *} Plutarch, Suetonius.

a degree inferior to these, Menon was of this fort; one who was an officer that attended the younger Cyrus in his expedition against his brother Artaxerxes, and who is thus characterised by Xenophon. was a paffionate lover of money; he lov'd power and command that he might " get by it; and he lov'd honours in or-" der still to make the more advantage. " He affected the friendship of men in " power to escape the punishment of his " injustice. He thought that the shortest " way to gain his ends was by perjury, " falshood and deceit. Simplicity and " truth he thought the fame with folly: " he apparently loved no one. Whoever " he professed himself a friend to, he was " evidently plotting mitchief against. He " contemned no enemy, but conversed al-" ways in fuch a manner with his friends "as if he ridiculed and laughed at them. " He formed no defigns to seize the pos-" fessions of his enemies for he thought it " difficult to prey upon fuch as were upon " their guard; but he thought himself the " only person who knew that it was the " easiest thing in the world to seize the " unguarded possessions of his friends. " Those that he observed to be unjust and " regardless of oaths he feared as men well " prepared and armed. Men of piety " and truth, as weak and unmanly, he F " endea" endeavoured to make his uses of. The " pleasure that another takes in religion, " truth, and justice, he took in being able " to deceive, in falshood and ridiculing " his friends. The man, who was not a " knave, he thought ignorant and filly. "Those with whom he affected to be a " chief favourite, he thought he was to " gain by calumniating their chief friends. " His contrivance to render his foldiers " obedient to him, was to share with them " in their crimes. He required respect and " fervice by shewing that it was both in " his power and in his will to do injuries. "When any one had renounced his friend-" fhip, he declared, that it was an act of " bounty in him, that while he used him " as a friend, he did not ruin him. He " lived in an infamous commerce with one " Thurypas, who was older than himself; " and was himself a prostitute in his youth " to the Barbarian Ariceus."

This treatife of the institution of Cyrus is undoubtedly fabulous. The Iliad and Odysseid of Homer are fables likewise; tho' of another kind. And there is certainly no more pretence to truth or fact, in this of Xenophon, than those of Homer; yet the whole of it is so true to nature, that it may be said to be almost as natural as if it were really fact, and of consequence is instruc-

tive; and perhaps more instructive than what is called real history; there being very little of that which is not abundantly more false to fact than these antient fables are to nature. There is indeed a plainness. and simplicity in this piece of Xenophon that may feem childish and contemptible to fome judgments. But what our Saviour faid to his disciples when he placed a child in the midst of them, * unless you become as little children, you shall not enter into the kingdom of beaven; and what he fays in another, place, + When the eye is fingle, the whole body is full of light, may be applied to the disposition of the mind with respect to all other good knowledge as well as with refpect to religion. Your disposition of mind is thus chafte and fingle, and you therefore will perhaps not be displeased with this.

THERE have been some who have imagined, that the establishments made by Xenophon's Cyrus, are a model of perfect government. Others however, will reckon that Cyrus is no more proposed as a model to be followed, than Achilles is in the Iliad of Homer. The wrathful great man and the effects of his wrath, are plainly seen in

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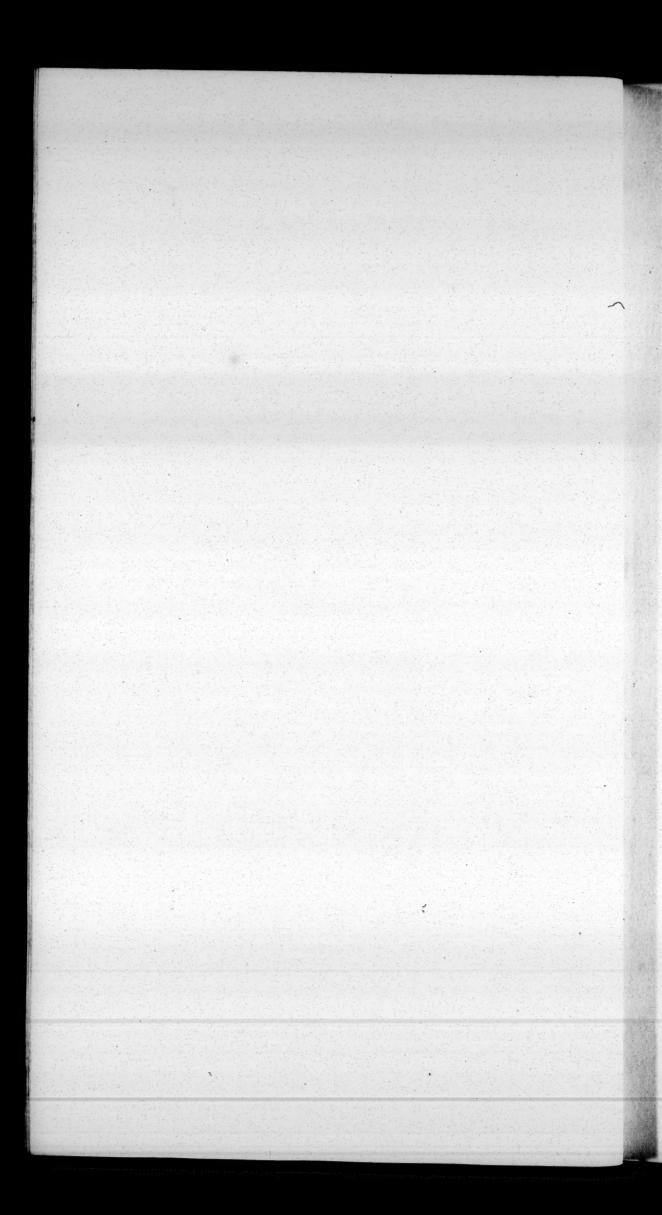
^{*} Mat. xviii. 3. xix. 14.

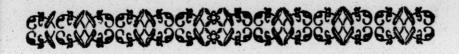
[†] Mat. vi. 22.

the Iliad; and the ambitious great man, and the effects of his ambition, are as plainly to be feen in the Cyreid. The arts that Cyrus used with private men, and with whole nations, in order to gain them to his purpose, were certainly right; but this does not prove that that purpose of his was honest. In like manner all his regulations with respect to the establishment of his scheme of tyranny were as certainly rightly contrived to ferve that end; but yet this is no proof that fuch tyranny is not a most unjust unequal and barbarous establishment. And when the foundation and rife of the empire of Cyrus is directly ascribed to a free government; when his own education under fuch a government appears to be the foundation of all the virtue that he has; and when the effects of this empire erected, are declared to be a general defection from all virtue in the people, and the misery of the prince's own family; then let any one judge, whether the moral of this fable of Xenophon's does decide in favour of tyranny.

I know the affectionate concern you have for the liberty of your country; which you value that the integrity and fimplicity of human minds may be protected, and not overborn by tyrannical impositions or debauched by imposture, that they may

be kept as the chaste spouse of divine truth; and that innocence and virtue may not be violated by the ungoverned passions of the mighty; I know the joy you ever expressed for your country's successes in a just war. You will therefore allow this to be my excuse, for thinking these subjects not improper to entertain you with. I cannot but believe that even the statesman, the soldier, the divine, and the learned in the law of our present age, would readily excufe the addressing these matters to a lady. when they should consider that this is but the translation (and indeed pretends to be no very good one) of a book where these subjects are treated in a childish romantic way and not fo fuitable to their understandings. They will be little concerned that fuch an author should recommend the sciences and arts of war and government, of justice and religion, to the study of the gentleman. For by means of ignorance in these things, the gentleman is rendered incapable of judging whether the mercenary in these professions do their duty for their money; the noblest arts are thus left to the mercenary alone, and they become the guides and governors of the world.





CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

$C \quad \Upsilon \quad R \quad U \quad S.$

By XENOPHON.

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Have heretofore confidered how many popular governments have been dissolved by men who chose to live under any other fort of government rather than the popular; and how many monarchies, and how many oligarchies have been destroyed by the people; and how many of those who have attempted tyrannies, have, some of them, been instantly and entirely destroyed;

flroyed; and others, if they have continued reigning but for any time, have been admired as able, wife, and happy men. And I thought I observed many masters, in their own private houses, some possessing more fervants, some but very few, who yet were not able to preserve those few entirely obedient to their commands. I confidered withal that keepers of oxen, and keepers of horses, are as it were the magistrates and rulers of those oxen and horses; and in general all those called pastors or herdsmen may be properly accounted the magistrates of the animals they rule. I faw, I thought, all these several herds more willing to obey their pastors, than men their magistrates. For these herds go the way that their keepers direct them; they feed on those lands upon which their keepers throw them; they abstain from those from which their keepers drive them; They fuffer their keepers to make what use they please of the fruits and profits that arise from them: Besides I never did perceive a herd conspiring against its keepers, either so as not to obey them, or so as not to allow them the use of the fruits arising from them. Herds are rather more refractory towards any others than they are towards their rulers and those who make profit of them; but men conspire against none fooner, than again those, whom they perceive

perceive undertaking the government of When these things were in my mind, I came to this judgment upon them; That to man, it was easier to rule every other fort of creature than to rule man. But when I confidered that there was the Perfian Cyrus, who had render'd many men, many cities and many nations, obedient to himself; upon this I was necessitated to change my opinion, and to think that the government of men was not amongst the things that were impossible, nor amongst the things that are difficult, if one undertook it with understanding and skill. knew there were those that willingly obey'd Cyrus, who were many days journey distant from him; those who were months; those who had never seen him; and those who knew very well that they never should fee him; yet would they submit to his government. For he fo far excelled all other kings, both those that received their dominion by fuccession, as well as those that acquired it themselves, that the Scythian (for example) though his people be very numerous, has not been able to obtain the dominion of any other nation; but rests fatisfied if he hold but the rule of his own: the Thracian the same; the Illyrian the fame; and other nations (as I have heard) the fame. For the nations of Europe are faid to be yet fovereign and independent of each

50 CYROPÆDIA: Or. Book I. each other But Cyrus finding in like manner the nations of Afia fovereign and independent and fetting forward with a little army of Perfians, obtain'd the dominion of the Medes by their own choice and voluntary submission; of the Hircanians the same. He conquered the Syrians, Affyrians, Arabs, Capadocians, both Phrygis, the Lydians, Carians, Phænicians, and Babylonians. He ruled the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians; in like manner the Sacians, Paphlagonians, and . Megadinians, and many other nations, whose names one cannot enumerate: He ruled the Greeks that were fettled in Afia; and descending to the sea the Cyprians and Ægyptians. These nations he ruled, though their languages differed from his own and from each other; and yet was he able to extend the fear of himself over so great a part of the world, as to aftonish all, and that no one attempted any thing against him. He was able to inspire all with so great a defire of pleafing him, that they even defired to be governed by his opinion and will. He connected together so many nations, as would be a labour to enumerate, to whatfoever point one undertook to direct one's course, whether it were east, west, north, or south, setting out from his palace and feat of empire. With respect therefore to this man, as worthy of admiration, I have enquired by what birth,

with

Book I. Institution of Cyrus 51 with what natural disposition, and under what discipline and education bred, he so much excelled in the art of governing men. And whatever I have learnt, or think I know concerning him, I shall endeavour to relate.

CYRUS is faid to be descended from Cambyses king of the Persians as his father. Cambyles was of the race of the Perseida, who were so called from Perseus. It is agreed that he was born of a mother called Mandane; and Mandane was the daughter of Astyages king of the Medes. Cyrus is said to have had by nature a most beautiful person, and a mind of the greatest benignity and love to mankind, most desirous of knowledge, and most ambitious of glory; fo as to bear any pain, and undergo any danger for the fake of praise: And he is yet celebrated as fuch among the barbarians. Such is he recorded to have been with respect to his mind and person; and he was educated under the institutions and laws of the Perfians.

THESE laws feem to begin with a provident care of the common good; not where those of most other governments begin; for most other governments, giving to all a liberty of educating their children as they please, and to the advanced in age

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CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. a liberty of living as they please, do then enjoin their people not to steal, nor to plunder, not to enter a house by violence, not to strike unjustly, not to be adulterous, not to difobey the magistrates, and other things in like manner; and if any transgress, they impose punishments upon them. But the Persian laws taking things higher, are careful from the beginning to provide that their citizens shall not be such as to be capable of meddling with any action that is base And that care, they take in this and vile. They have a public place called manner. from the name of liberty, where the king's palace and the other courts and houses of magistrates are built: All things that are bought and fold and the dealers in them, their noise and low disingenuous manners, are banished hence to another place; that the rout of these may not mix and interfere with the decent order of those who are under the ingenuous discipline. place, near the public courts, is divided into four parts; one is allotted to the boys, one the youth, one to the full-grown men, and one to those who exceed the years of military fervice. Each of these orders according to the law, attend in their feveral parts; the boys and full-grown men as foon as it is day; the elders when they think convenient, except upon appointed days

when they are obliged to be present; the

youth

youth take up their rest round the courts in their light arms; all but fuch as are married; these are not required to do it, unless before-hand ordered to attend; nor is it decent for them to be absent often. Over each of the orders there are twelve rulers; for the Perfians are divided into twelve tribes. Those over the boys are chosen from among the elders; and fuch as are thought to make them the best boys: Those over the youth are chosen from amongst the full-grown men and such as are thought to make the best youth: And over the full-grown men, fuch as are thought to render them the most ready to perform their appointed parts, and to execute the orders they receive from the chief magistrate. There are likewise chosen, presidents over the elders, who take care that these also perform their duty. And that it may appear what means they use to make their citizens prove the best, I shall now relate what part is appointed for each degree.

The boys who frequent the public places of instruction, pass their time in learning justice, and tell you that they go for that purpose, as those with us who go to learn letters tell you that they go for that purpose. Their rulers for the most part of the day continue dispersing justice amongst them.

54 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. them. For as amongst the men, so the boys have against each other their accusations for theft, robbery, violence, deceit and calumny, and other fuch things as naturally occur; and when they find any acting unjustly, in any of these ways, they punish them; they punish likewise such as they find guilty of false accusation; they appeal to justice also in the case of a crime for which men hate one another excessively, but never bring to the bar of justice, that is, ingratitude; and whomfoever they find able to return a benefit, and refufing to do it, they punish severely. For they are of opinion that the ungrateful, are careless and neglectful both of the gods, of their parents, of their county, and of their friends; and ingratitude feems to be certainly attended by impudence; and this feems to be the principal conductor of mankind into all things that are vile. They instill into the boys a modest and descreet temper of mind; and it contributes much towards establishing this temper in them, that they fee every day their elders behaving themselves in that discreet and modest They teach them obedience to manner. their rulers, and it contributes much to their instruction in this, that they see their elders zealoufly obedient to their rulers. They teach them temperance with respect to eating and drinking; and it contributes much Book I. Institution of Cyrus. 55 much to this their temperance to see that their elders do not quit their stations for the service of their bellies, before the magistrates dismiss them, and that the boys do

not eat with their mothers but with their teachers, and when the magistrates give the fignal. They bring from home with them bread for their food, and a fort of herb much in use with them, to eat with it.

And they bring a cup to drink in, that if any are thirsty, they may take from the river. They learn besides to shoot with the bow, and to throw the javelin. These things the boys practise till they are sixteen or seventeen years of age; then they enter

the order of youth. The youth pass their time thus: For ten years after they pass from the order of boys, they take their rests around the courts, as is said before, both for the security and guard of the city, and to preserve in them a modesty and governableness of temper; for this age seems the

most to need care. In the day time they chiefly give themselves up to be made use of by their magistrates in case they want

them for any public fervice; and when it is necessary they all attend about the courts. But when the king goes out to hunt, he

takes half the guard off with him; and this he does feveral times every month.

Those that go must have their bow and quiver, a smaller fort of sword in its pro-

56 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I per scabbard, a shield and two javelins; one to throw, and the other, if necessary, to use at hand. They are careful to keep up these public huntings; and the king as in war is in this their leader; hunts himfelf and takes care that others do fo; because it seems to be the truest method of practifing all fuch things as relate to war. It accustoms them to rise early in the morning, and to bear heat and cold; it exercises them in long marches, and in running; it necessitates them to use their bow against the beast they hunt, and to throw the javelin if he fall in their way; their courage must of necessity be often sharpen'd in the hunt, when any of the strong and vigorous beafts oppose themselves; they must come to blows with the beaft, if he comes up with them, and must be upon their guard as he comes upon them. So that it is no easy matter to find what one thing there is that's practis'd in war, and is not fo in their hunting. They attend this hunting, being provided with a dinner, larger indeed (as is but fit) than that of the boys; but in all other respects the same, and during the hunt fometimes perhaps they shall not eat it, either waiting for the beast if it be necessary, or choosing to spend more time at the work; fo they make their fupper of that dinner; hunt again the next day, till the time of supper; and reckBook I.

on these two days as but one, because they have eat the food but of one day. they do to accustom themselves, that in case it may be necessary for them in war, they may be able to do it. They of this degree have what they catch for meat with their bread. If they catch nothing, then they have their usual herb. And if any one think that they eat without pleafure, when they have this herb only for food with their bread, and that they drink without pleasure when they drink water, let him recollect how pleasant it is to one who is hungry to eat plain cake or bread; and how pleafant to one who is thirsty to drink water. The tribes that remain at home pass their time in practifing the things they learn'd while they were boys, in shooting with the bow, and throwing the javelin. These they continue exercising in emulation one against another; and there are public games in these kinds, and prizes fet; and in which foever of the tribes there are the most found who exceed in skill, in courage, and in obedience, the citizens applaud and honour, not only the present ruler of them, but also the person who had the instruction of them while boys. The magistrates likewise make use of the remaining youth, if they want them, to keep guard upon any occasion, or to fearch for criminal persons, to pur-H fue

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. fue robbers, or for any other bufiness that requires strength and agility. These things the youth practife; and when they have compleated ten years, they enter into the order of full-grown men. These, from the time they leave the order of youth, pass five and twenty years in this manher. First, as the youth, they give themselves up to be made use of by the magistrates upon any occasion that may occur for the service of the public, and that requires the service of fuch as have discretion, and are yet in vigour. If some military expedition be necessary to be undertaken, they who are under this degree of discipline do not engage in it, with bow and javelins, but with what they call arms for close fight, a corfelet about the breast, a shield in the left hand, fuch as the Perfians are painted with, and in the right a larger fort of fword. All the magistrates are chosen from amongst these, except the teachers of the boys, and when they have compleated five and twenty years in this order, they are then something upwards of fifty years of age, and pass into the order of such as are elders, and are fo called. These elders are not obliged to attend any military fervice abroad, but remaining at home, have the distribution of public and private justice, have judgment of life and death, and the choice of all magistrates; and if any of the youth Book I. Institution of CYRUS. 59 youth or full grown men, fail in any thing enjoined by the laws, the philarchs or magistrates of the tribes, or any one that will, make discovery of it, the elders hear the cause and give judgment upon it; and the person so judged and condemned, remains infamous for the rest of his life.

THAT the whole Persian form of government may the more plainly appear, I return a little back; for by means of what has been already faid, it may now be laid open in a very few words. The Perfians are faid to be in number about twelve myriads, or a hundred and twenty thousand; of these none are by law excluded from honours and magistracies, but all are at liberty to fend their boys to the public schools of justice. They who are able to maintain their children idle, and without labour, fend them to these schools. who are not able do not fend them. They who are thus educated under the public teachers, are at liberty to pass through the order of youth: They who are not fo educated have not that liberty: They who pass thorough the youth, fully discharging all things enjoined by the law, are allowed to be incorporated amongst the full-grown men, and to partake of all honours and magistracies: But they who do not compleat their course through the order of boys, H 2

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. 60 and through that of the youth, do not pass into the order of the full-grown men. They who make their progress through the order of the full-grown men unexceptionably, become then of the elders: So the order of elders stands composed of men who have made their way through all things good and excellent. And this is the form of government by the use of which, they think they become the best men. There yet remain things that bear testimony to the spare diet, used among the Perfians, and to their carrying it off by exercife; For it is even yet shameful among them to be feen either to fpit or to blow the nose, or to appear full of wind: 'Tis shameful for any one to be seen going aside either to make water, or any fuch matter; and these things could not possibly be unless they used a very temperate diet, and fpent the moisture by exercise, making it pass some other way.

These things I had to fay concerning the Persians in general. I will now relate the actions of Cyrus, upon whose account this discourse was undertaken, beginning from his being a boy. Cyrus till twelve years of age or little more, was educated under this discipline, and appeared to excel all his equals, both in his quick learning of what was fit, and in his performing every

every thing in a handsome and in a manly way. At that time Astyages sent for his daughter and her fon; for he was defirous to fee him, having heard that he was an excellent and lovely child. Mandane therefore came to her father, and brought her fon with her. As foon as they arrived, and Cyrus knew Aftyages to be his mother's father, he instantly, as being a boy of a great good nature, embraced him just as if he had been bred under him, and had long had an affection for him: And obferving him fet out and adorned, with his eyes and complexion painted, and with false hair, things that are allow'd amongst the Medes, (for the purple coat, the rich habit called candys, collars about the neck. and bracelets about the hands, all belong to the Medes; but amongst the inhabitants of Perha, even at this day, their habits are much coarser, and their diet much plainer,) observing this dress of his grandfather, and looking at him, faid, "O mother, " how handsome is my grandsather?" And his mother then asking him which he thought the handsomer either his father or his grandfather; Cyrus answered, "Of the " Persians, mother, my father is much the " handsomest; and of all the Medes that I " have feen either upon the road or with-" in the city this grandfather of mine is " much the handsomest." Altyages then embracing

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I embracing Cyrus, in return, put him on a fine robe; honoured him and fet him out with collars and bracelets; and whenever he went abroad carried him with him. mounted upon a horse with a bridle of gold, and fuch as he used himself to appear abroad upon. Cyrus being a boy much in love with what was fine and honourable. was pleased with the robe; and extreamly delighted with learning to ride; for among the Persians, it being difficult to breed horses, and even difficult to ride, the country being mountainous, it is a rare thing to fee a horse. But Astyages being at table with his daughter, and with Cyrus, and being defirous to treat the boy with all possible delight and pleasure, that he might the less miss what he enjoyed at home, set before him feveral dishes with fauces and meats of all kinds; upon which Cyrus is reported to have faid, "What a deal of "bufiness and trouble, grandfather, have " you at your meals, if you must reach " out your hands to all these several dishes " and taste of all these kind of meats?" " What, then, faid Astyages, don't you " think this entertainment much finer " than what you have in Persia?" Cyrus to this is faid to reply, "No, grandfather; " with us we have a much plainer and " readier way to get fatisfied than you " have; for plain bread and meat brings

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Book I. Institution of Cyrus. " us to our end, but you in order to the " fame end, have a deal of business upon " your hands, and wandering up and " down through many mazes, you at last " fcarce arrive where we have got long " before you." But child, faid Astyages, " it is not with pain that we wander thro' " these mazes; taste, said he, and you " will find that these things are pleasant." "Well but grandfather, faid Cyrus, I fee " that you yourfelf have an aversion to " these sauces and things." " What ground, " replied Astyages, have you to fay so?" " Because, said he, when you touch your " bread, I fee you don't wipe your hands " upon any thing, but when you meddle " with any of these, you presently clean " your hands upon your napkin, as if you " were very uneafy to have them daubed " with them." To this Astrages is said to have answer'd, "Well child if this be " your opinion eat heartily of plain meats " that you may return young and healthy " home;" and at the same time he is said to have prefented to him various meats both of the tame, and wild kinds; Cyrus when he saw this variety of meats is reported to have faid, "And do you give " me all these meats, grandfather, to do " with them as I think fit?" " Yes truly " I do, faid Astyages; then Cyrus taking of the several meats, is said to have distri64 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. buted around to the fervants about his grandfather, faying to one, "This for " you, because you take pains to teach me " to ride; This for you, because you gave " me a javelin; for I have it at this time; "This for you, because you serve my " grandfather well; This for you, because " you honour my mother;" and that thus he did till he had distributed away all he received. Aftyages is then reported to have faid, "And do you give nothing to this " Sacian, my cup-bearer, that I favour " above all?" This Sacian was a very beautiful person, and had the honour to introduce to Astrages, any that had business with him, and was to hinder those that he did not think it feafonable to introduce. Cyrus to this is faid to have answered, in a pert manner, as a boy not yet struck with the fense of shame, "For what reason is it, " grandfather, that you favour this Sacian ' so much?" Astyages replied in a jesting way, "Don't you see, said he, how hand-" fomely and neatly he pours me my wine?" For these cup-bearers to kings perform their business very cleverly, they pour out their wine very neatly, and give the cup, bearing it along with three fingers, and prefent it in fuch a manner as it may best be receiv'd by the person who is to drink. "Grandfather, faid Cyrus, bid the Sacian " give me the cup, that, pouring you your " wine

"wine to drink, I may gain your favour " if I can." Astyages bids the Sacian give him the cup; and Cyrus taking it, is faid to have washed the cup as he had observed the Sacian to do; and fettling his countenance in a ferious and decent manner, brought and presented the cup to his grandfather in fuch a manner as afforded much laughter to his mother and to Astyages. Cyrus laughing out leapt up to his grandfather, and kiffing him cried out, "O Sa-" cian you are undone, I will turn you " out of your office; I will do the bufi-" ness better than you and not drink the " wine myself." For these cup-bearers when they have given the cup, dip with a dish and take a little out, which pouring into their left hand they swallow; and this they do that in case they mix poison in the cup it may be of no advantage to themfelves. Upon this Astrages in a jesting way, faid, "And why Cyrus fince you have " imitated the Sacian in every thing elfe, " did not you fwallow fome of the wine?" " Because truly, said he, I was afraid " there had been poison mixed in the cup; " for when you feasted your friends upon " your birth-day, I plainly found that he " had poured you all poison:" "And how " child, faid he, did you know this?" "Truly faid he, because I saw you all dis-" ordered in body and mind; for first

" what you do not allow us boys to do, "that you did yourselves; for you all " bawl'd together, and could learn nothing " of each other: Then you fell to finging " very ridiculoufly; and without attending " to the finger, you swore he sung admi-" rably; then every one telling stories of " his own strength, you rose up and fell " to dancing; but without all rule or mea-" fure, for you could not fo much as keep " yourselves upright. Then you all en-"tirely forgot yourselves; you, that you " were king, and they that you were their " governor; And then for the first time I " discovered that you were celebrating a " festival, where all were allow'd to talk " with equal liberty; for you never cea-" fed talking." Aftyages then faid, "Does " your father child never drink till he gets " drunk?" " No truly" faid he, "What "does he then?" "Why he quenches his " thirst and gets no farther harm, for as I " take it, grandfather, fays he, it is no " Sacian that officiates as cup-bearer about "him." His mother then faid, "But why " child do you make war thus upon the " Sacian?" Cyrus to this is faid to reply, " Why truly because I hate him; for ve-" ry often when I am defirous to run to " my grandfather this nasty fellow hinders " me. Pray grandfather said he let me but have the government of him but for " three

Book I.

" own

" three days." " How would you govern " him faid Astrages?" Cyrus replied, "Why " standing as he does just at the entrance, " when he had a mind to go into dinner, " then wou'd I tell him that he could not " possibly have his dinner yet, because He " was busy with certain people; then when " he came to supper, I would tell him that " He was bathing; and if he was very " preffing for his victuals, I would tell " him that He was with the women; and " fo on till I had tormented him as he tor-" ments me when he keeps me from you." Such like subjects of mirth did he afford them at meals: At other times of the day if he perceived his grandfather or his mother's brother in want of any thing, it was a difficult matter for any one to be beforehand with him in doing it. For Cyrus was extreamly delighted to gratify them in any thing that lay in his power. But when Mandane was preparing to return home to her husband, Astyages defired her to leave Cyrus with him. She made answer, "That " fhe was willing to gratify her father in " every thing; but to leave the child a-" gainst his will she thought hard." Upon this occasion Astrages fays to Cyrus, " Child, " if you will stay with me, in the first " place the Sacian shall not have the com-" mand of your access to me; but when-" ever you would come it shall be in your

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68 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I.

" own power, and the oftener you will " come faid he, the more I shall think my " felf obliged to you. Then you shall " have the use of all my horses, and of as " many more as you please; and when " you go away you shall take as many of "them as you please with you; Then at " meals you shall take what way you please " to get fatisfied in what you think a tem-" perate way Then all the feveral crea-" tures that are now in the park, I give " you; and will besides collect more of " all kinds that you may purfue them when " you have learnt to ride, and with your " bow and javelin lay them prostrate on " the ground as grown men do. Boys I " will furnish you with, for play-fellows: " and whatever elfe you would have, do " but tell me and you fhan't go without." When Astrages had faid this, Cyrus's mother ask'd him whether he would go or stay. He did not at all hefitate, but prefently faid, that he would stay. And being asked by his mother the reason why, it is said, that he made answer, "Because, mother, that at " home, both at the bow and javelin, I am " fuperior to all of equal age with me, and " am so reckoned; but here, I well know " that in horsemanship I am their inferior; and be it known to you mother, this " grieves me very much. But if you " leave me here and I learn to be a horse-

man,

Institution of Cyrus. Book I. " man, then I reckon that when I am in " Persia, I shall easily master them there " who are fo good at all exercises on foot, " and when I come amongst the Medes, I " Mall endeavour to be an affistant and a " fupport to my grandfather, making my-" felf the most skillful, amongst those " who excel in horsemanship." His mo-" ther is then reported to have faid, " But " how child will you be instructed here in " the knowledge of justice when your " teachers are there?" "O mother, faid Cy-" rus, that I understand exactly already." " How so?" faid Mandane. " Because my " teacher, faid he, appointed me judge o-" ver others, as being very exact in the " knowledge of justice myself. But yet, " faid he, I had fome stripes given me, as " not determining right in one judgment " that I gave; the case was this: A bigger " boy who had a little coat, stripping a less " boy who had a larger, puts on upon the " little boy the coat that was his own, and " puts on himself the coat that was the " little boy's. I therefore passing judg-" ment upon them, decreed that it was " best that each should keep the coat that " best fitted him. Upon this my teacher " threshed me, and told me that when I " should be constituted judge of what fit-" ted best I should determine in this manf ner. But when I was to judge whose " the

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. 70 " the coat was then, faid he, it must be " enquired what right possession is; whe-"ther he that took a thing by force, " should have it, or whether he who made " it, or purchased it should possess it, and " then he told me that what was accord-" ing to law was just; and that, what was " contrary to law was violent: He bid me " take notice therefore that a judge ought " to give his opinion with the law. So " mother faid he, I understand what is just " in all cases very exactly; or if any thing " be wanting to me, my grandfather here " will teach it me." "But child, fays she, " the fame things are not accounted just " with your grandfather here and yonder " in Persia. For amongst the Medes your " grandfather has made himself lord and " master of all; but amongst the Persians, " it is accounted just that all should be " equally dealt by; and your father is " the first to execute the orders imposed " upon the whole state, and receives those " orders himself; his own humour is not " his rule and measure, but it is the law " that is fo. How then can you avoid be-" ing beat to death at home, when you " come from your grandfather instructed " not in kingly arts, but in the arts and " manners of tyranny; one of which is to " think that power and afcendant over all " is your due?" " O mother faid Cyrus, " your " your father is much better able to teach one to fubmit than to take the ascen-

" dant. Don't you see, said he, that he

" has taught all the Medes to submit to

" him? So be well affured that your father

" will not dismiss me, nor any one, from

" about him instructed how to gain power

" and afcendant over others."

Many fuch kind of discourses did Cyrus hold; at last his mother went away; he stay'd and was there brought up. He immediately joined himself to those that were his equals in age, fo as to be upon a very familiar and friendly foot with them. And he prefently gained their fathers both by visiting them and by giving evidence of his affection to their fons. So that if they had any business with the king, they bid their boys ask Cyrus to do it; and Cyrus, such was his benignity and love of efteem and praise, did his utmost to accomplish it for them. And Astrages had it not in his power to refuse gratifying Cyrus in whatever he asked of him. For Cyrus, when his grandfather fell ill, never quitted him; never ceased from tears; and made it evident to all, that he was in the utmost fear of his dying: And in the night, if Aftyages wanted any thing, Cyrus was the first to perceive it, and started up the nimblest of any to ferve him, in any thing that he thought pleafing

CYROPÆDIA: Or, pleasing to him. So that he entirely gain'd Astyages. Cyrus was perhaps a little overtalkative: But this he had partly from his education; his teacher obliging him to give a reason for every thing that he did; and to hearken to it from others, when he was to give his opinion in judgment; and befides being very eager after knowledge, he was always asking those about him abundance of questions, how such and such things were; and upon whatever subject he was questioned by others, being of a very quick and ready apprehension, he instantly made his answers. So that from all these things he contracted an over-talkativeness. But as in the persons of very young people, who have fhot up fuddenly fo as to be very tall, there yet appears fomething childish, that betrays their youth; fo in Cyrus, it was not an impudence and boldness that appeared, through that talkativeness, but a simplicity and good nature. So that one was defirous rather to hear yet more from him, than to be with him while he held his tongue.

But as years added to his growth, and brought him on towards the time of his becoming a youth, he then used sewer words and a softer voice: He became full of shame, so as to blush when he came into the company of men of years. And that play-

Book I.

playful pertness in bluntly accosting every one did not continue with him as before. So he became more foft and gentle, but in his conversation extremely agreeable. in all the exercises, that he and his equals used in emulation to each other, he did not challenge his companions to those in which he knew himself superior; but such as he well knew himself to be inferior in, those he set on foot; declaring that he would do them better than they. Accordingly he would begin vaulting the horse; throwing the javelin, or shooting with the bow on horseback, while he was yet scarce well able to fit on a horse, and when he was outdone, he was the first to laugh at himself. And as, upon the account of being baffled, he did not fly off, and meddle no more with the things he was so baffled in, but continued repeating his endeavours to do better, he presently became equal to his companions in horsemanship, and by his love of the work quickly left them behind. He then presently applied himself to the taking of the beafts in the park, purfuing, throwing at them, and killing them; fo that Aystages could no longer supply him with them. And Cyrus perceiving that he could not furnish him with these creatures, though very defirous to do it, often faid to him, "What need you take so much " pains, grandfather, to find me out these

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I 74 " creatures? If you will but fend me out " a hunting with my uncle, I shall reckon " that all the beafts I fee are creatures that " you maintain for me." But though he was very defirous to go out a hunting, yet he could not now be pressing and importunate as when he was a boy; he became very backward in going to his grandfather, and what he blamed in the Sacian for not admitting him to his grandfather, he became in this a Sacian to himself; for he never went in unless he knew before-hand that it was feafonable, and begg'd the Sacian by all means to fignify to him when it was feafonable and when not; fo that the Sacian now loved him extremely, as all the rest did.

When Assages therefore knew that he was extremely desirous to hunt abroad and at large, he sent him out with his uncle, and sent some elderly men on horseback with him, as guards upon him, to take care of him in rough and rocky parts of the country, and in case any beasts of the savage kind appear'd. Cyrus therefore was very earnest in enquiring of those that attended him, what beasts he was not to approach, and which those were that he might considently pursue. They told him that bears had destroy'd many that had ventured to approach them; and that lions, wild-boars

boars and leopards had done the fame; but that stags, wild-goats, wild-sheep, and wild-affes were harmless things. told him likewife that rough and rocky places were not less to be taken care of than the beasts; for that many, both men and horses had fallen headlong down precipices. Cyrus took all these instructions very eagerly; but as foon as he faw a stag roused, forgetting all that he had heard, he purfued and looked at nothing but at that which he run; and his horse taking a leap with him, fell upon his knees, and wanted but little of throwing him quite over his neck. However Cyrus, though with difficulty, kept upon his back, and the horse recover'd. When they got into the plain he struck the stag with his javelin, brought him to the ground; a large noble creature it was, and he was most highly delighted. But his guardians coming up with him chid and reprov'd him; told him what danger he had run into; and faid that they would tell it to his grandfather. Cyrus being alighted from his horse, stood and heard this with much uneafiness: but hearing a hollow, he mounted his horse at a leap as in a fort of enthufiasm, and as soon as he saw a boar rushing forward over-against him, he pushed on upon him; and aiming right with his javelin, struck the boar in the forehead. K 2 And 76 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. And here his uncle, feeing his boldness, reproved him; he, while his uncle was reproving him, begg'd that he wou'd allow him to carry off the beafts, that he had taken, and to give them to his grandfather; to this they fay, his uncle replied, " But if he discover that it is you that " have purfued and taken them, he will " not only reprove you, but me for al-" lowing you to do it." " Let him beat " me, fays he, if he will, when I have " given them to him; and do you, if you " will uncle, fays he, correct me as you " please, do but gratify me in this." Cyaxares at last said, "Well, do as you " please; for it is you that seem now to " be our king."

So Cyrus carrying off the beafts, prefented them to his grandtather, and told him that he himself had taken them for him. The javelins he did not shew him; but laid them down all bloody where he thought that he certainly would see them. Assigned said, "Child, I receive with plea-" fure whatever you give me, but I am "not in such want of any of these things as to run you into danger for them." If you do not want them, grandfather, "said Cyrus, pray give them me; that I may distribute them to my companions." Child, said Assigned. "Take them and "distribute them to my companions."

" distribute them to whom you please, and " of every thing else whatever you will." Cyrus taking the beafts, gave them to the boys, and withal told them, "Boys, faid " he, what very triflers were we, when " we hunted in the park? In my opinion, " it was as if one had tied the creatures " by the leg and hunted them; for first, " we were within a narrow compals of " ground; then the creatures were poor, " flender, fcabby things, one was lame; " another maim'd; but the beasts in the " mountains and marshes, how fine, how " large, and how fleek they appear? The " stags as if they had wings, leap to the " very heavens; the boars, as they fay " brave men do, attack one hand to hand; " and their bulk is fuch that it is impos-" fible to miss them. These even when " they are dead, fays he, are in my opi-" nion, finer than those other wall'd up " things when alive. But fays he, would " your father, think you, fend you out a "hunting?" "Yes very readily, faid " they, if Allyages order'd it." Cyrus then faid, "Who is there amongst you there-" fore that wou'd mention it to Astyages?" " Who more able faid they, to perfuade " him than yourself?" " But truly said he, for my part, I know not what kind " of creature I am become; for I am nei-66 ther able to speak, nor can I any longer 78 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I.
" fo much as meet my grandfather's eyes;
" and if I go on in this way so fast, I fear
" says he, I shall become a mere block" head and tool; yet when I was a little
" boy I was thought a notable talker."
The boys then said, " You tell us a sad
" piece of news, if you can do nothing
" for us in case of need, but that we must
" beg that of another, that is in your
" power to effect."

CYRUS hearing this, was nettled, and retiring without faying a word, he stirred himself up to boldness; and having contrived how to speak to his grandfather in the least offensive manner, and to obtain for himself and the boys what they defired, he went in. Thus then he began; "Tell " me, faid he, grandfather! if one of " your domestick servants should run " away, and you should take him again; " what would you do with him?" " Why, " faid he, what should I do but put him " in chains, and force him to work." " But if a run-away should of himself re-"turn to you, what would you do?" " What elfe, faid he, but have him whipped " that he may do fo no more, then make " use of him as before?" " It is time " therefore, faid Cyrus, to prepare your-" felf to bestow a whipping upon me, as " having contrived to run away, and take " my Book I. Institution of Cyrus. 79
"my companions with me a hunting."
"Then said Astyages, you have done very
well to tell me before-hand. For hence
forward I order you not to stir. It is
a fine thing indeed, said he, if for the
fake of a little venison, I shall send out
my daughter's son to ramble at his pleafure."

CYRUS, hearing this, obey'd; and stay'd at home much afflicted; carrying a melancholy countenance, and remained filent. Astyages when he found that he was fo extremely afflicted, being willing to pleafe him, carries him out a-hunting. And affembling abundance of people, both foot and horse, and likewise the boys, and driving the beafts out into the champion country, he made a great hunt. And being himself present, royally attended, he gave order that none should throw till Cyrus was fatisfy'd and had enough of the exercise. But Cyrus would not let him hinder them, " If you have a mind, grandfather, faid " he, that I should hunt with pleasure, let " all those about me pursue and engage in " the fray and do the best." Astrages then gave them his leave, and taking a station faw them engaged amongst the beafts, striving to out-do each other, pursuing and throwing their javelins. He was delighted with Cyrus, who in transports of joy could 80 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. not hold his tongue; but like a young generous dog, that opens when he approaches the beaft, he purfues, encouraged every one, calling upon them by name. He was pleafed to fee him laughing at one; and another he observed him to praise cordially

and without the least motion of envy. At last Astyages having taken abundance of game retired; but was so pleased with that hunt, that he always went out with Cyrus,

whenever he was able, taking abundance of people with him, and boys for the fake of Cyrus. Thus for the most part did Cy-

rus pass his time, doing service and pleafure to all, and hurt to none.

Bur when he was about fifteen or fixteen years of age, the king of Affyria's fon, being to celebrate his nuptial's, had a mind at that time to hunt; and hearing that there was plenty of game upon the borders of the Affyrians and Medes, they having not been hunted because of the war between the nations; hither he defired to go. That he might hunt therefore fecurely, he took with him a body of horse, and another of light-armed foot, who were to drive the beafts out of their fastnesses into the open cultivated country. Being come therefore to the place where their garrisons were, and a guard always attending; here he fupped, as intending to hunt the next day early

early in the morning. But that evening a guard of horse and foot arrived from the city to relieve those who were there before. He therefore thought that he had now a handsome army with him, confisting of a double guard, befides a confiderable number both of horse and foot that had attended upon himself. He judged it best therefore to undertake a plunder upon the Median territory, that this would be a nobler exploit than a hunt; and he thought he should procure great store of beasts for facrifice. So rifing early in the morning, he led his army forwards. The foot he left in close order upon the borders: he himfelf advanced with the horse up to the Median garrifons; and keeping the best of them and the greatest number with himself, he halted there, that the Medes in garrison might not march and charge those who were to fcour the country. And fuch as were proper he fent out in parties, some to run one way and fome another; and ordered them to furround and feize all that they met with, and bring all off to him. These did as they were ordered. But notice being given to Astyages, that the enemy was got into the country, he marched with what forces he had at hand, to the borders. His fon did fo in like manner, with some horse that were at hand; and he signified to all his other forces to march after, to iupport 82 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. fupport him. When they came up and faw a great number of Affyrians in close order, and their horses standing quietly and still, the Medes likewise halted and stood.

CYRUS, feeing other people marching on all fides to support their friends, let forward himself, putting on his arms for the first time, never imagining that he should be so soon armed with them in the manner he defired. For they were very fine and fitted him very well; being fuch as his grandfather had ordered to be made fit to his body. So being thus compleatly armed he fet out on horseback. Astyages getting fight of him, wondered by whofe order and encouragement he came; however he bid him keep by him Cyrus, when he faw a great number of horsemen fronting him, asked, "Grandfather! said he, " are these men enemies that fit quietly " there on horseback?" " They are ene-" mies," faid he. " And are those so too " that are scouring the country?" Yes, " and those too." " By Fove! then grand-" father! faid he, methinks these that are " thus plundring us are wretched fellows, " and mounted upon wretched horses: " and must not fome of us march against " them?" " Do not you see, child! said is he, what a body of horse stands there in " close

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" close order, and who, if we advance " against the others, will intercept us? " And we have not yet our full strength " with us." " But faid Cyrus, if you wait " here and collect those that are marching " to join us, these of our enemies that are " here will be under apprehension, and will " not stir; and the plunderers when they " fee any men marching against them will " prefently drop their booty." Upon his faying this Astyages thought there was something in what he faid, and wondring at his fagacity and vigilence, order'd his fon to take a squadron of horse and march against the plunderers; " I, said he, will " bear down upon these men that are here, " if they offer to move towards you; fo " that they shall be obliged to be intent " upon us."

eft and best both of men and horses marched. And Cyrus seeing these put forward, join'd and pushed on with them, and presently got at the head of them. Cyaxares followed, and the rest were not lest behind. As soon as the plunderers saw them approaching, then quitting their booty they sled. They that were with Cyrus intercepted them, and sell to blows with such as they could come up with, and Cyrus was the first at the work. Those who by turning L 2 aside

84 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. aside escaped them, they pursued in the rear, and did not give over, but met with feveral of them. Like a generous dog that has not experience, and that runs headlong without caution, upon a boar, fo ran Cyrus; minding only to deal his blows where any came within his reach, without further forefight or confideration. The enemy, when they faw their people in diffress, moved their main body; judging that the pursuit would cease as soon as they should be seen to advance. Cyrus notwithstanding did not give over, but calling out to his uncle for joy, purfued, and preffing continually on, put the enemy to an entire rout. Cyaxares followed, perhaps being in awe of his father; and the rest followed after, who though perhaps they would not have shewn themselves very brave against men that had opposed them, yet were upon this occasion more than ordinarily eager in pursuing. Astyages, when he saw these men so incautiously pursuing, and the enemy in a close body marching towards them, fearing for his fon and for Cyrus, least they in disorder and confusion should fall in with the enemy, prepared to receive them, and fuffer damage, he prefently led on towards the enemy. The enemy as foon as they faw the Medes move forward, halted; presenting some of their javelins, and some their bows in order to stop them when they came practice is. For when they are near they push each other at a certain distance, and so frequently skirmish on till evening But when they faw their own men in full rout flying towards them, and those with Cyrus following close behind them, and Aftyages with his horse already within bowshot, they gave way and fled. The Medes in a body purfuing killed several in the first charge; and whoever they came up with they fell upon, whether man or horse; and whoever fell they killed. Nor did they stop till they came up with the Affyrain foot, and there they gave over, fearing least some greater force than appeared might lie in ambuscade to receive them. Astrages upon this retreated; in much joy at this victory obtained by his cavalry, but knew not what to fay to Cyrus; for he knew him to be the author of the action, and faw him wrought up to fuch a degree of boldness, as amounted almost to madness. For while the rest were retiring home, he alone by himself did nothing but ride round and view those that had fallen in the action. And they who had it in charge dragging him with difficulty away, brought him to Altyages, while he put his conductors forward before him, because he saw the countenance of his grandfather turn four upon feeing him.

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THESE things passed amongst the Medes: and all people had Cyrus in their mouths both in their discourses and songs. But Astrages, who before had a great esteem for him, was now quite aftonish'd and struck with him. Cambises the father of Cyrus was pleased to hear these things of him; but when he heard that Gyrus began to perform acts of manhood, he called him home that he might compleat his institution among the Persians, according to the rules of his country. And upon this occasion, Cyrus is reported to have faid, "That he " would return least his father should be " uneafy and his country blame him." Altyages therefore feem'd to be under a necesfity of parting with him. So he fent him away, but first presented him with such horses as he defired to have, and furnishing him with other things of all kinds, both because of the affection he had for him. and because he had great affurance and hopes that he would prove a man thoroughly able to do fervice to his friends, and mischief to his enemies.

ALL people waited upon Cyrus at his departure, attending him part of his way on horseback, both boys, youth, and men, and those in years; so likewise did Astyages himself. And they say that not one turned back at parting with him, without tears.

Book I.

And it is faid that Cyrus himself shed many tears at parting: that he gave many prefents to his companions and equals in age, out of what Aftyages had given him, and that at last taking off the Median robe he had on he gave it to a certain youth, declaring by this that he loved that youth the most of any. 'Tis faid that they who had taken and accepted of these presents, returned them to Aftyages, and that Aftyages fent them to Cyrus, but that he fent them back again to the Medes, and fent word thus, "O Grandfather! if you would have " me return hither again with pleasure " and not with shame, let every one keep, " what I have given him." And that A/tyages hearing this, did as Cyrus had beg'd him by his meffage to do.

But if I may be allow'd to relate a sportive affair, it is said that when Cyrus went away, and that he and his relations parted, they took their leave and dismissed him with a kiss, according to the Persian custom; for the Persians practise it to this day. And that a certain Mede, a very excellent person had been long struck with the beauty of Cyrus, that when he saw Cyrus's relations kiss him he stay'd behind, and when the rest were gone accosted Cyrus, and said to him, "And am I Cyrus!" the only one of all your relations that

" you do not know?" "What! faid Cyrus, " and are you a relation?" Yes," faid he, "This was the reason then, said Cyrus, " that you used to gaze at me; for I think " I recollect that you frequently did fo." " I was very defirous, faid he, to falute " you, but I was always ashamed to do " it." " But, said Cyrus, you that are a " relation ought not to have been fo." So coming up to him he kiffed him. The Mede having received the kifs, is faid to have asked this question; " And is it a custom " amongst the Persians to kiss relations?" " It is so, said Cyrus, when they see one " another at some distance of time, or " when they part." " Then, faid the " Mede, it feems now to be time for you " to kiss me again; for as you see I am " just going away." So Cyrus kissing him again dismissed him, and went his way. They had not gone very far before the Mede came up with him again, with his horse all over in a sweat; and Cyrus getting fight of him, faid, "What have you for-" got any thing that you had a mind to " fay to me?" " No, by Jove! faid he, " but I am come again at a distance of " time." " Dear relation! faid he, it is " a very short one." " How, a short one? " faid the Mede, do you not know, Cyrus! " faid he, that the very twinkling of my " eyes is a long time to be without feeing " you;

"you; you who are so lovely?" Here Cyrus, from being in tears broke out into laughter, bid him "go his way and take "courage; that in a little time he would be with them again; and that then he would be at liberty to look at him if he pleased with steady eyes and without twinkling."

CYRUS returning thus into Perfia, is faid to have continued a year longer amongst the boys. At first they made their jests upon him as being now come home instructed amongst the Medes in luxury and pleasure. But when they faw that he cloathed himfelf as they did, that he drank as they did, and with pleasure; and that in festivals, when they had a little more than ordinary plenty they perceived him more ready to give his share away than defirous to have it himself: and besides when they saw him in all other respects, much superior to themselves, they were then astonished at Then having passed through the discipline of these years, and entering the order of youth, he here again appeared fuperior to the rest, both in executing what was fit, in undergoing every thing that was his part fo to do, in his respects to his elders, and in his obedience to his rulers.

In progress of time, Astyages died, and his son Gyaxares brother to Gyrus's mother,

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took upon him the government of the Medes. And the king of Assyria having overthrown all the Syrians, who were no fmall nation, and having fubjected the king of the Arabs, and holding the Hyrcanians under his dominion, and being at that time attacking the Bactrians, confidered, that if he could break the power of the Medes, he should easily obtain the dominion of all around him. For the Medes feemed to be the strongest of all the neighbouring nations. So he fent round to allthose that were subject to himself; he sent to Cræsus king of Lydia, to the king of Capadocia, to both the Phrygia's to the Carians, Paphlagonians, Indians and Cilicians, loading the Medes and Persians with calumny and reproach; telling them, how great, how powerful, and how united in interest these two nations were by means of several intermarriages; that they would unite into one; and if he did not prevent them and break their power, they would run risk, by attacking each nation feverally to overturn all. Some being perfwaded by these arguments, entered into a confederacy with him; others were prevailed with by money and prefents; for in these he abounded.

CYAXARES the fon of Astyages, when he perceived this design and these united preparations against him, did himfelf immediately make the utmost preparation

tion that he was able, to oppose them; and he sent to the Persians, both to the publick council and to Cambyses who was married to his sister and was king of Persia. He sent likewise to Cyrus desiring him to endeavour to come commander of the forces, if the publick council of the Persians should send any. For Cyrus by this time had compleated ten years amongst the youth, and was now of the full-grown men.

So Cyrus accepting it, the elders in council chose him commander of the expedition into Media. They gave him power to choose two hundred from amongst those who were equally entituled to all honours, and to each of these, they gave power to choose four of their own order. These altogether made a thousand. Again to each of these thousand they gave a power to choose from amongst the common people of Persia, ten shield-men, ten slingers and ten archers. Thus there were ten thoufand archers, ten thousand shield-men, and ten thousand slinger, and the thousand befides. So great was the army that was given to Cyrus; and as foon as he was chosen he began by making application to the gods; and having facrificed happily and fuccessfully, he then chose the two hundred; and when these had afterwards chofen each their four, he affembled them to-M 2 gether, 92 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. gether, and made his first discourse to them, thus.

" FRIENDS, I have chosen you, not as " having now for the first time had proof " of your worth, but as having feen you " from boys, performing with ardor, all " things that the city judges excellent and " noble, and avoiding entirely whatever " it reckons mean and base. I wou'd now " lay before you upon what account it is, " that I, (not unwillingly) am placed " in this station; and that I have called " you together. I have thought that our forefathers were no ways infe-" rior to ourselves; for they passed their " days in continual exercise and practice " of fuch things as are thought actions of " virtue; but what, with this their virtue, " they have acquir'd either for the publick " of Persia, or for themselves, I cannot yet " discover. Yet, in my opinion, men prac-" tife no virtue, but that by it they may " gain the advantage of the vicious. They " who abstain from pleasures in present, " do not do it that they may never have " delight; but they do it, that by means " of that temperance in prefent, they may " in future time have returns of delight manifold. They who are defirous to be " powerful in speaking, do not exercise themselves in it, that they may never " give Book I. Institution of Cyrus. 93 "give over discoursing; but they do it in hopes, that prevailing upon numbers of men by the power of their eloquence, they may effect many things, and those

" of great confequence."

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"They who exercise themselves in mar-" tial affairs do not take pains in it, that " they may never cease fighting, but they " judge that by making themselves able in " military affairs, they shall acquire great " riches, great happiness, and great honours to themselves and to their country. " And if any have taken pains to acquire " ability and skill in these affairs, and " without reaping any fruits from them " have neglected themselves till they have " been disabled by old age, in my opinion, "they have undergone the fame fate as " one who were defirous to be a good huf-" bandman would do; who fowing and " planting with skill, when the time came " for gathering the fruits, should let them " all fall ungather'd to the ground again. " And as a wrestler who after much pains " bestowed and becoming qualified for vic-" tory, should pass his days without en-" tring the lists. And, in my opinion, " fuch a one could not justly be freed from " the imputation of folly. Let not us, " friends, submit to such a fate! But since we are conscious to ourselves, that from " boys

CYROPÆDIA: Or, 94 Book I. " boys we are exercised in all great and " noble things, let us march against these " enemies of ours, that I, an eye-witness, " well know to be poor infignificant men " as antagonists to your For such men are not very dangerous antagonists, who " though they may be skilful at their bow, " and their javelin, and in horsemanship, " yet when they are to undergo toil and " and labour, fink under it: and these " men, with respect to pains and labour, " are mean and poor. Nor are fuch men " dangerous antagonists, who when they " are to watch, and deny themselves their " usual rest, are quite broken by it: and in this respect likewise, these men are " mean and poor. Nor are fuch dangerous " antagonists, who though able in all these " respects, yet are ignorant how to deal " either with allies or with enemies: and " thefe men are evidently ignorant and un-" practifed in the noblest arts. But you " can make use of the night, as others of " the day; you reckon that toil and pains " must conduct you to a life of pleasure; " you can use hunger to relish your food, " as others do the daintiest meats; you " even with more ease than lions, can bear " the drinking of plain water; and you " carry within your minds the nobleft and " most warlike quality in the world; for praise is what you are pleased with above

" all things, and they that are lovers of " praise do of course undergo all toil, and " all danger with pleasure. If I say these "things of you and know otherwise, "I abuse myself; for whatever falls short " of this in your conduct; the deficiency " will fall upon me. But I trust to my " own experience, to your good will to-" wards me, and to the folly of our enemies " that these good hopes will not fail me. " Let us fet forward with confidence, fince " we are far from appearing to be taken " with an unjust defire of what belongs to " others; for our enemies are coming up-" on us being themselves the aggressors in " wrong; our friends call us to their af-" fistance; What therefore is more just " than to repell injuries? What more no-" ble than to help our friends? Besides, " methinks it ought not to be one of the " least grounds of your confidence in this " case that I do not set out upon this expe-" dition with neglect of the gods; For " you who have converfed much with me, " know that I have endeavour'd to begin " not great affairs only, but even little " ones with application to the gods; To " conclude, faid he, what further shall I " fay? Do you make choice of your men, " and take them under your care; and " making all things elfe ready, march to " the Medes, I, first returning back to my " father,

96 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I.

"father, will go before you, that I may learn as foon as possible the condition of the enemy, and prepare things for you as well as I can, that, with God's assistance, we may carry on this war in the noblest manner." These men did as Cyrus required,

made his supplications to Vesta, and to Jove paternal, and the other deities, set out upon this expedition, and his father attended him on his way. As soon as they were out of the house, it is said, that it thunder'd and lighten'd in a happy manner. Upon which they went on without further augury; as if no one could be ignorant what these signals of the most powerful God imported. As Cyrus proceeded on upon his journey, his father began a discourse with him in this manner.

"That the gods fend you out upon this expedition propitiously and favour- ably, is evident, child, both from the facrifices and from the signals from heaven. And you yourself know it to be so; for I have purposely taught you these things, that you might not come to the knowledge of what the gods adwise and direct you to, by means of other interpreters; but that you yourself see- interpreters; but that you yourself see-

" ing what is to be feen, and hearing what " is to be heard, may understand and not " be at the mercy of diviners, who, if " they please, may deceive you, and tell " you different things from what the gods " really fignify to you: and that in case " you are without a diviner, you may not " be at a loss what use to make of the di-"vine fignals, but by your knowledge in "divination, understanding the advices " given you by the gods, you may com-" ply with them." " Father, faid Cyrus, " I will always continue using my utmost " care, according to your instruction, to " render the gods propitious to us, and " willing to give us their advice and direc-" tion. For I remember, to have heard " it from you, that, as from men, so like-" wife from the gods, the most likely per-" fon to obtain his fuit, is not he who, " when he is in diffress, flatters servilely, " but he who in his most happy circum-" stances is most mindful of the gods. " And you used to say, that it was in the " fame manner that one ought to cultivate " friends." " Therefore child, faid he, " upon the account of this your care, you " now apply to the gods and make your " requests to them with the more pleasure, " and you have the better hopes to obtain " what you ask, appearing to yourself con-" scious that you have never neglected " them."

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. " them." " Truly father, faid he, I am " for that reason in such a temper of mind " with respect to the gods, as to reckon "them my friends." -- "Well child, faid he, do you remember these other " opinions that we heretofore agreed in? " As that in all things that the gods be-" ftow, fuch men, as have acquir'd skill " and knowledge in them, act and fuc-" ceed better than they who are ignorant in them? That the laborious succeed " better than the idle? That the deligent " and the careful live with more fecurity, " than the negligent and careless? And "that therefore first rendering ourselves " fuch as we ought to be, we then should " make our prayers to the gods for their " bleffings?" "Yes indeed, said Cyrus, I " do remember to have heard these things " from you; and I was forced to submit " to your reasoning; for I know you used " to fay, that it was downright impiety, " for fuch as had never learn'd to ride, to " supplicate the gods for victory in en-" gagements of horse; or for such as had " never learn'd the use of the bow, to ask " the fuperiority at this very weapon, over " those who understood it; or for such as " knew not how to steer, to pray that they " might preserve ships in the quality of " pilots; or for fuch as have not fown " wheat, to pray that they might have a " good "good crop of it; or for fuch as are not watchful in war, to pray that they may be preferved in fafety; for that all fuch things were contrary to the fettled laws of the gods; and you faid, that fuch as made impious prayers, would probably meet with difappointments from the gods; as fuch would fail of fuccess with men, who should desire things contrary to all human laws."

" And have you forgot, child, faid he, " these other matters that you and I have " heretofore discoursed upon? As that it " was a great and noble work for a man " to be able to approve himself a good and " excellent man, and to find means to fup-" ply himself and his family with plenty " of all things necessary. And this being " thus allow'd to be a great work, that to " understand how to govern other men, so " as to supply them with all things neces-" fary and in abundance, and fo as to render " them fuch as they ought to be, this we " thought to be an aftonishing work! Yes " truly father, faid he, I remember to have " heard you fay this, and I was of opinion " with you, that to govern well was a " work of the highest nature. And it now " appears to me to be so, said he, when I " confider it with respect to government it felf; but when I consider it with respect N 2 se to

100 CYROPÆDIA: Or, to other men, what kind of men these " governors are, and what kind of men " they are, who are to be our antagonists; " I think it very mean to be terrified with " fuch people, and to be unwilling to " march and engage them Men, faid he, " who, to begin with these friends of ours, " I find are of opinion, that a governor " ought to diftinguish himself from those "that he governs, by his eating more " fumptuoufly, by having more gold in " his house, by fleeping longer, and by " living in all respects more at ease than " those that he governs. But my opinion " is, faid he, that a governor ought to " differ from the governed, not by a life " of ease and luxury, but by care and cir-" cumspection, and by his readiness to un-" dergo toil and labour." --- "But child, " faid he, there are fome matters wherein " you are not to contend with men, but with things; and to have these plentic fully at command is no easy matter. You " readily know that if the army have not " necessaries, your command is immediate-" ly dissolved and falls to pieces." "Fa-" ther, faid he, therefore, Cyaxares fays, " that he will afford them to all that go " from hence, however great the number " be." You go then child, faid he, trust-" ing in these matters entirely to Cyaxares's " riches." " I do, said Cyrus." " Well said " he, but do you know what these riches " are?" " No truly, faid Cyrus, I do not." "Yet, faid he, to these things that you " are thus in the dark about, do you trust. " Do not you know, that you will be in " want of abundance of things, and that " now you must of necessity spend abun-" dance"? "I do know it, faid Cyrus;" " If therefore, faid he, the supply of this " expence fail him, or that he purpofely " deal falfly by you, how will the affairs " of the army then stand? It is plain not " very well." "Then father, faid he, if " you know any means of obtaining a fup-" ply, and fuch as may depend upon myfelf, " whilft I am yet upon friendly ground, " pray tell it me." "Do you ask, child, " faid he, if there be any means of sup-" ply depending upon yourfelf? And upon " whom are these things more likely to de-" pend, than upon one who has power in " his hands? You go from hence with fuch " a body of foot, as I very well know you " would not exchange for any other, tho' " many times their number; And you will " have the Median cavalry, who are the " best, and who will be with you as your " allies and friends. What nation is there " then all around, that you think will " not serve you, both out of a defire to " gain your favour, and for fear of receiv-" ing harm? These matters you ought to concert

CYROPÆDIA: Or, " concert with Craxares, that nothing of " what is necessary for you may be want-" ing, and upon account of the continual " expence, you ought to fecure a revenue " and fupply that may be always accruing. " But above all things remember this, ne-" ver to delay the procuring your supply " till want presses you to it; but while " you have the greatest plenty and b fore " you come to want, then labour the most " to make fure of it. For you will fucceed " the better with those from whom you " demand it, when you feem not to be in " want; And your men will have nothing " to blame you for. By this means like-" wife you will have more respect paid " you by others; and if by means of your " forces, you have a mind to do fervice or " prejudice to any while your men are " fupplied with all that they want, they " will do you better service. And be af-" fured that your words will carry greater " weight with them when you can shew, " that you have it in your power to do fer-" vice or to do hurt" "I am fatisfied fa-" ther, faid he, that you are right in all this, " both for other reasons, as well as parti-" cularly because there are none of the sol-" diers that will pay me thanks for what " they are now to receive: for they know " upon what terms Cyaxares takes them es as his allies; but whatever any of them 66 shall

Institution of Cyrus. Book I. " shall receive over and above what is a-" greed, this they will reckon favour, and " will pay the greatest gratitude to the be-" stower of it. And indeed, for one who " has a force, by whose means he may re-" ceive advantages in return of fervice " done to friends, and may endeavour to " make conquest upon enemies; for such " a one to be careless in securing himself " fupplies, can one think this, faid he, to " be less reproachful, than it would be in " a man who had lands, and had fervants " to cultivate them, and who after all " should let those lands lie fallow and use-" less. Depend upon it therefore, said he. " that both in the territory of friends and " of enemies, I will not be sparing of my " care to fupply my men with all things " fitting."

"Well, child, faid he, and do you re"member certain other things that we
heretofore agreed it was necessary not to
neglect?"——"Yes, said he, for I re"member that, when I came to you for
money to give a man who pretended to
have taught me the art of commanding
an army, as you gave me the money you
saked me."——Child, said you, did this
man that you carry this reward to, ever
amongst the arts and business of a gene"ral mention any thing of economy to
"you?

104 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. "you? For foldiers in an army are not " less in want of things necessary than are " domesticks in a family: and when, tel-" ling you the truth, I faid that he had " not made the least mention of it, you " asked me again: - Whether he had " fpoken to me concerning the health and " strength of my men? As that a general " ought to mind these things, as well as " the leading and managing of them in " action; when I told you, no; you again " asked me, --- Whether he had taught " me how to take care to make my men " the most able at all war-like exercises; " and when I denied this too; you en-" quired again, ---- Whether he had given " me any instruction, how I might raise " fpirit and courage in an army; for, you " faid, that, in every action there were " vast odds between an army's being in " fpirit and out of heart. When I denied " ther he had held any discourse to teach " me, how one might best bring an army " to ready obedience. When you found, " that this had not been in the least spoken " of, you at last enquired, -- " What it " was he had taught me then, that he " could fay he had taught me the art of " commanding an army? Here I replied " and told you the tacticks, or the art of " forming and moving in order.—You, " laugh" laughing at this, ran over each particu-" lar, asking me what use there was in ge-" neralship of tacticks without necessaries? " what without health? what without skill " in the arts that have been invented for "the use of war? what without obedi-" ence? -- So you made it evident to " me, that this tactick art, was but a small " part of generalship. And when I asked " whether you were able to teach me any " of these matters, you bid me go my " ways, and discourse with men that were " reputed knowing in military affairs, and " enquire from them how these matters " ftood .--- Upon this, I conversed with " fuch as I had heard were most knowing " in these matters: And with respect to " health, having heard and observed that " cities, that want health, get physicians; " and that commanders, for the fake of " their men, take physicians with them; " fo when I was placed in this station I " prefently took care of this: And I be-" lieve, father! faid he, that I have men " with me that are very able in the art of " physic." To this the father replied; " But, child! faid he, these men that you " fpeak of are like menders of torn cloths; " fo when people are fick, phyficians cure " them: But your care of health is to be " of a nobler kind; to prevent the army's " becom-

106 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I.

" becoming fickly, is what you ought to take care of."

" And which way, father, faid he, shall " I be able to do this?" " Why if you " are to stay sometime in a place, you " ought not to be careless in your choice of " a healthy camp: And in this you will " not be deceived, provided you are but " careful; for men are continually talk-" ing of healthy and unhealthy places, " and upon the places themselves, there " are fure witnesses to give their testimo-" ny either way both by their perfons and " complexions. But then it will not fuf-" fice you to confider places only, but pray " recollect what course you have taken " yourself, in your endeavours to preserve " your health." Cyrus then faid, "In the " first place, I endeavour not to over-fill " myself; for it's a very burthensomething; " and then what I take down I work off " by exercife. By this means I think that " I preferve health and acquire vigour." " In the same manner therefore, child, said " he, you must take care of others." "And " fhall we have leafure, faid he, father! to " exercise the soldiers in this manner?" "You will not only have leafure, faid the " father, but necessity will oblige you to " it; for an army that will do its duty, must, " never be at rest, but employed either in " diffref108 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I.

" Bur then, faid Cyrus, with respect to " the raifing courage and fpirit amongst. " the foldiers; I think nothing more ef-" fectual, than to give the men great hopes " of advantage." "But child! faid he, " this expedient is just as if any one in " hunting should always encourage the dogs " in the fame manner that is used when the " beaft is in view; for one that should do "thus, would have them very eager and " ready at his encouragement at first, but if " he often deceived them they would at last " give no attention to his encouragement, " when the beast was really in view. It is " the same with respect to these hopes; if " any one should balk men often, after " having raifed them to mighty expecta-" tions, He would not at last be able to " prevail with them though he talked to " them of hopes never fo real and well " grounded. But, child! faid he, you must " be very cautious in faying any thing that " you do not very well know; The same " thing fometimes faid by others may do " the business; your own encouragement " you must, with the utmost care, pre-" ferve in credit for the greatest occasions." " Indeed father! faid Cyrus, in my opinion " you say perfectly well, and this way is " to me much the more agreeable."

" But in the matter of rendering the " foldiers obedient, I take myself, father! " not to be unskilled. For presently from " a boy you took me under discipline, and " obliged me to be obedient to you; then " you gave me up to my teachers, and " they did the same thing: Then again " when I became one of the youth, our " ruler took effectual care, in this mat-" ter; and there are many laws that in " my opinion tend chiefly to the teach-" ing of these two things, how to govern, " and how to obey; And upon confidering " them, I think I find that the most pro-" per means, to enforce obedience is to " praise and recompence the obedient, and " to difgrace and punish the disobedient." " Indeed child! faid he, to a forc'd obedi-" ence this is the way; but to a willing c-6 bedience, which is much the better there " is another way and a readier. " whoever men take to be more knowing " than themselves in what is for their in-" terest and advantage; such a one they " obey with pleasure. This you may know " to be true in many other cases as well as " particularly in that of fick people, who " are mighty ready and zealous in fending " for fuch as may prescribe what is fit for " them to do; fo at fea, the people that " are on board, are very ready and zealous " to obey their pilots; and travellers are " extreamly

110 CYROPÆDIA: Or, " extreamly averse to part with such as " they think know the roads better than " themselves: But when men think that "they shall be injured by their obedience, " they will neither yield to punishments " nor be raifed by rewards; for no one " willingly takes a reward to his own pre-" judice." "You fay, father! faid he, " that nothing more effectually procures one obedience than to appear to have " more wisdom and knowledge than those " that one rules." "I do fay fo," fays he. " And how, father! faid he, shall one be " best able to raise such an opinion of one's " felf?" " Child! faid he, there is no " readier way to appear wife and knowing " in things wherein you defire to appear " fo, than to be in reallity knowing in " those things; and considering the things " in particular you will find, that what I " fay is true. For if you would appear a " good husbandman, a good horseman, a " good phyfician, a good player upon the " flute, or any other artist whatever, when " you really are not so; consider how ma-" ny contrivances you must use in order to " appear fo. And if you can prevail " with a great many people to commend " you, that you may gain a reputation, " and if you purchase fine instruments, and

" furniture belonging to each of the arts, " you are then an impostor. And soon

" after

" after when you come to give proof of " your skill, you would be convicted, and " would appear an arrogant boafter. But " with respect to future time, and to what " may or may not turn to advantage in " the confequence, what is the way to "make one's felf in this really wife and " knowing? It is plain, child! faid he, by " learning every thing that one can ac-" quire the knowledge of by learning, as " you have learn'd the tactick art; but " with respect to what is not to be learnt " from men nor attained to by human " forefight, confulting the gods in fuch " cases by divination you will make your-" felf more knowing than others: And " what you find most proper to be done, " you are to take care that it be done; For " to see to the execution of what is proper, " is more the part of a man of prudence " than to neglect it."

"But then, said Cyrus as to the being beloved by those that one rules, which is amongst the things that I take to be of the greatest importance. It is evident, that the way is the same as it is to gain the love of friends: for I know very well that one ought to be seen doing them service." But child! said he, it is a matter of great difficulty to be almind.

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. " mind to ferve; but to be observed to re-" joice with them when any good fortune " befalls them; and to grieve with them "when any thing ill; to appear zealous " to affift them in their distresses; afraid " least they should miscarry in any thing; " and to endeavour to prevent this by care " and circumspection; these are things " that you ought rather to concur with " them in. And in point of action, the " commander ought to be observed to un-" dergo more heat in the fummer, and in " the winter more cold, and in great fa-" tigues more labour and pains than others; " for all these things contribute to the be-" ing beloved by those that are under one's government." You say, father! said he, " that a commander ought in all respects " to undergo more than those that he com-" mands." "I do fay it, faid he; And be " of good courage child! for be affured, " that bodies being alike, the fame labours " do not fall equally heavy upon the com-" mander, and the private man; For glory makes those labours lighter to the " commander, and the being conscious to " himself that in whatever he does, he " does not lie concealed."

"But then, father! when the foldiers

"are supplied with all things necessary,
"when they are in health, and able to undergo

" dergo labour, when they are skilful and " well exercised in all the military arts, " when they are ambitious to appear brave " men, when obedience is more pleasing " to them, than the contrary; would not " you think a man wife who should then " defire upon the first opportunity to bring " them to an engagement with the enemy?" "Yes truly, faid he, provided that he had " the enemy at a proper advantage. But " if otherwise, the better I thought of my-" felf, and the better I thought of my men, " the more upon my guard would I be; " and as in other things that we think of " greatest value to-us, so in these, we " should endeavour to have them secured " in the strongest manner."

"AND what is the best way, father! to "take advantage of the enemy?" "Truly, "child! said he, this is no contemptible nor simple business that you enquire about. But be it known to you, that he who is to do this must be full of wiles, a dissembler, crafty, deceitful, a thief and a robber, and must take advantage of his enemy in all manner of ways." Cyrus laughing at this, cry'd out, "O Hercukes!" what a man, father! do you say that I must be?" "Such a one, child! said he, "as may yet have the strictest regard to law and justice." "Why then, said he, "while

114 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. " while we were boys, and while we were " youths, did you teach us the direct con-" trary?" " And so truly we do still, said " he, with respect to friends and fellow-" citizens. But do you not know, that in " order to injure enemies, you have learnt " a great many mischievous arts?" "Not " I, father! faid he." To what end then, " faid he, did you learn the use of the "bow? and to throw the javelin? To " what end did you learn to deceive wild " boars with toils and trenches, and stags " with fnares and gins? What is the rea-" fon that in your encountering lions, " bears and leopards, you do not put your-" felf upon an even footing with them, " but endeavour to take all advantages in " engaging them? Do not you know that " these are all mischievous artifices, deceits, " fubtilities, and takings of advantage?" "Yes truly, faid Cyrus, against beasts; " But if I was discovered intending to de-" ceive a man, I got a good many stripes " for it." " Nor did we, I think, faid he, " allow you to shoot with a bow or throw " a javelin at a man; but we taught you " to throw at a mark, that you might not at that time do mischief to your friends; " but that, in case of war, you might be " able to take your aim at men. And we " instructed you to practice deceits, and to " take advantages not upon men, but up-" on

" practice calumny and not to practice it; " to take advantage and not to take advan-" tage. And he distinguished what was to " be practifed towards friends and what to-" wards enemies; And proceeding yet far-" ther, he taught, that it was just even to " deceive friends if it were done for their " good, and just, to play the thief and to " steal from friends, what belonged to "them, if it were done for their good. " And this teacher was obliged to exercise " the boys one against another in the prac-" tice of these things, as they say the " Greeks teach to deceive in wrestling; and " exercise the boys in it one against ano-" ther, that they may know how to put it

" in practice. Some therefore, having fo natural an aptness to deceive, and take

P 2

" advan-

116 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. " advantage, and perhaps no natural un-" aptness to make profit and advantage to " themselves, did not refrain from using " their endeavours to take advantages upon " friends. Upon this, therefore, a decree " was made, which is yet in force among " us; to teach the boys simply and direct-" ly, as we teach our fervants in their be-" haviour towards us, to tell truth, not to " deceive, not to steal, not to take advan-" tage; and if they transgress in these " things, to punish them, that being to " accustomed to these manners, they might " become more mild and tractable citizens. "But when they came to the age that you " now are at, to teach them what is law-"ful with respect to enemies, seemed what " might be done fecurely; for it did not " feem probable that being bred together " with a reverence for each other, you " should afterwards break out so as to be-" come wild and favage citizens: just as " we avoid discoursing concerning the af-" fairs of the beautiful goddess before very " young people, leaft, a freedom from re-" straint being added to a vehement defire, " they should fall into great excess in their " dealings that way." --- "To me, there-" fore, faid he, father! as being a very late " learner of these artifices do not refuse to " teach them if you know any; that I may " take advantage of the enemy." "Do all then, faid he, that is in your power, with " your own men in the best order, to take " the enemy in diforder; the enemy unarmed, with your own men armed; the enemy fleeping, with your own men " waking; the enemy open and exposed to " you, yourfelf being concealed and in the " dark to them; to fall upon them while engaged in difficult places, yourself being master of a place of strength." "And " how, faid he, can one possibly catch the " enemy making fuch mistakes as these?" " Because child! said he, both the enemy " and yourselves are obliged by necessity " to undergo many things of this kind. " For you must both get provisions; you " must both necessarily have rest; and in " the morning you must all almost toge-"ther retire for necessary occasions; and " in your marches, you must make use of " fuch roads as you find, whatever they " are; confidering all these things, in " whatever part you know yourfelf to be " the weakest, in that you must be the " most watchful; and in whatever part " you observe the enemy to be most ex-" posed, in that you must attack him."

"Is it in these things only, said Cyrus, that advantages are to be taken, or may it be done in others?"---It may be done in others, child! said he, and more effectually;

118 CYROPÆDIA: Or, " fectually; For in these cases men for the " most part place strong guards, knowing " full well that they are necessary: They " that would deceive the enemy may pof-" fibly, by raifing in them a confidence and fecurity, furprise them unguarded; " or by letting themselves be pursued, " may bring the enemy into diforder, and " enticing them on, by their flight into a " difadvantageous post may there attack " them: But you, child! who are fond " of skill in all these affairs, must not " make use of such things only as you " have been informed of; you must be " yourself the contriver of some strata-" gems to put in practice against the ene-" my. For as muficians do not only deal " in fuch fongs as they have been taught, but endeavour to compose others: And " as in music, such pieces as are new, and " as one may fay, in flower, meet with " fuccess and approbation; so in affairs of " war, new contrivances are best approved; for they are most capable of deceiv-" ing the enemy." --- But child! faid he, if " you do no more than transfer to men " those contrivances that you have used to " enfnare little animals, do not you think, " faid he, you will go a great way in the " art of taking advantage of your enemy? " For in order to catch birds, you used to si rise and go out in the night, in the " hardest

" fet

" hardest winter; and before the bids were " stirring, you had your nets ready laid " for them. And a moveable foundation " was difguised, and made like an immov-" able one; You had birds ready taught " to ferve your ends, and to deceive those " of their own kind; You yourfelf lay " hid, but so as to see them, and not to " be feen by them; And you watched " your opportunity to draw your nets " and to prevent the birds escaping. Then " with respect to the hare; because she " feeds in the dusk, and makes away to " her form by day, you keep dogs; fome " of them to find her by the scent, and be-" cause she takes to her heels, as soon as " she is discovered, you have other dogs, " that are proper to take her at her course; " and if the escape these, then, having be-" fore discovered the meeshes and to what " parts the hares choose to run, in these " places you lay nets that are hardly to be " feen; that in the eagerness of her course "throwing herfelf into the net, she may " be hampered; And that she may not e-" scape this snare, you set people to watch " what passes; and these from some places " near, are presently upon her; You your-" felf follow her; You aftonish and amaze " her with clamour and noise that never " quits her, so that in this distraction she " is taken. And you make those that are

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. 120 " fet to watch lie concealed, with instruc-" tions before-hand to be perfectly still and filent. As I faid before, therefore, if " you would form some such contrivances " against men, I do not know that you " would leave one enemy alive. But if " there is a necessity to fight upon even " terms with respect to situation, openly, " and both parties prepared and armed, in " fuch a case, child! those advantages, that " you have been long before provided " with, are of great weight; I mean " those when the bodies of your men are " duly exercifed, their minds keen, and all " the foldiers arts well-practifed. Besides, " it is very necessary that you should know, " that whoever they are that you defire " should be obedient to you, they on their part will defire you to be provident and " careful of them: Therefore never be re-" miss, but confider at night what your " men shall do when it is day; and con-" fider in the day how matters may be up-" on the best foot with respect to the pas-" fing of the night. But as to the form-" ing your army for battle; the marching " them either by day or by night, through " narrow or open ways, through moun-" tains or plains; How to encamp; How " to place your guards and watches both " by night and day; How to lead towards " the enemy; How to retreat from them; "-How " How to march by a city belonging to the " enemy; How to march up to a rampart, " and to retreat from it; How to pass " woods or rivers; how to be upon the " guard, either against horse or against " men armed with javelin or bow: And if, when you are marching by way of " either wing, the enemy should appear, " How to form a front against them; and " if you are marching by your front, and " that the enemy appear in another part " and not in front; How to lead against " them; How to get the best intelligence " of the enemy's affairs; And how best to " conceal your own from them: In all "these matters what can I say to you? "You have often heard from me all that I " knew of them, and besides, whoever you " have thought knowing in any of these " affairs, you have not neglected to take " their information; nor are you unskilled " in them. Therefore according to the fe-" veral occurrences you must always make " use of these things as they appear to be " to your advantage.—And take my in-" struction, child! faid he, likewise in these " things, and which are of the greatest " importance. Never engage either your-" felf or the army in any thing contrary " to the facrifices and auguries; reflecting " how men have chosen to engage in cer-" tain actions at hazard, and without " know-Q

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book I. " knowing at all, on which fide of the " choice they should meet with their ad-" vantage. This you may be convinced of " by things that oft happen; there are " many instances of men, and they such " as have been thought the wifest, who " have perfuaded fome to begin a war a-" gainst others, who have destroyed those "that have been perfuaded to be the ag-" greffors; There are instances of many, " who have raised both cities and private " men, and have fuffered the greatest mis-" fortunes at the hand of those they had " fo raised. There are instances of many, " who when they might have used others as their friends in a mutual intercourse of good offices, and who choosing to hold them rather as flaves than as friends, " have met with revenge and punishment " at their hands. Many, who not liking " to live contentedly possessing a part, and " affecting to be lords of all, have by this " means lost what was their own. " many, who have acquired the much " wished-for metal gold, have been de-" stroy'd by it.---So human wisdom knows " no more how to choose the best, than "One who should determine to act as chance and the lot should decide. " Gods! child! who are eternal, know all " things that have been, all things that " are, and all that shall happen in conse-

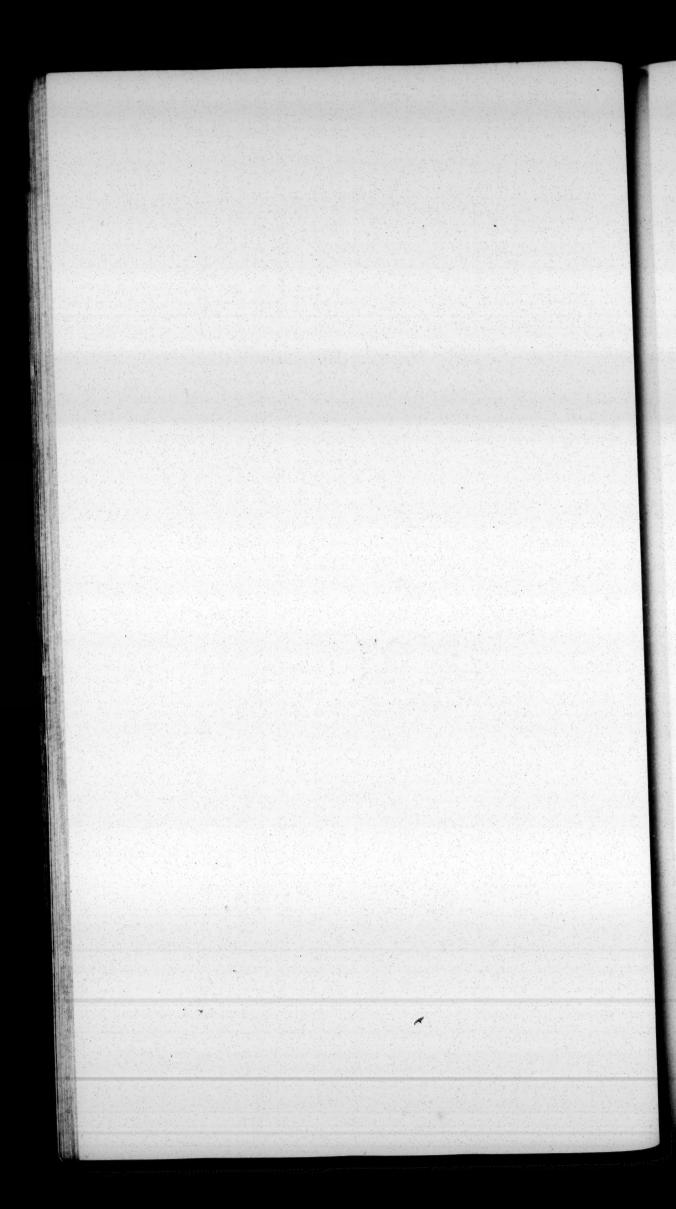
" quence

Book I. Institution of Cyrus. 123

"quence of every thing. And when men
confult them they fignify to those, that
they are propitious to, what they ought
to do, and what not. And if they will
not give advice to all, it is no ways wonderful; for they are not under any necessity to take care of those, of whom
they are not willing to take care."



GYRO-





CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C Υ R U S.

By XENOPHON.

BOOK II.



ISCOURSING in this manner they arrived at the borders of *Persia*; when an eagle, appearing to the right, led the way before them. And when they had made

their supplications to the gods, and heroes, guardians of *Persia*, to dismiss them favourably and propitiously, they passed the borders.

borders. When they had passed them, they again made supplication to the gods, guardians of *Media*, to receive them propitiously and favourable; and having done this and embraced each other as usual, the father returned into *Persia*, and *Cyrus* marched on into *Media* to *Cyaxares*.

WHEN Cyrus came to Cyaxares in Media, they first embraced each other, as usual, and Cyaxares afterwards asked Cyrus, "What " force he was to bring him?" He reply'd, "Thirty thousand of such as have been " before with you and ferved for their pay; "But there are others coming, who have " never yet served out of their own coun-" try, and are of the order of those that " are free, and equally entitled to all ho-" nours." " And how many of these?" faid Cyaxares. "The number of them, re-" ply'd Cyrus, will not please you, when " you hear it; But confider, faid he, that "those who are called the alike-honoured, " though but few, rule with ease the rest " of the Persians, who are very numerous. " But, faid he, are you in any real want " of these men, or are you under a vain " alarm, and the enemy not coming?" " Indeed they are, faid he, and in great " numbers." " How does this appear?" "Why a great many people who come " from thence, some by one means and

Institution of Cyrus. Book II. " fome by another, all fay the fame thing; "Then engage with these men we must. "We must of necessity," said he .--- Well " then, faid Cyrus, why do not you tell me " whether you know what these forces are " that are coming upon Us, and what we " have of our own; that being apprized " of both, We may afterwards confult " how to carry on the war in the best man-" ner?" " Attend then, said Cyaxares; ----" Crasus the Lydian is said to bring with " him 10000 horse, targeteers and archers " upwards of 40000. They fay that Ar-" samas, who governs the greater Phrygia, "brings 8000 horse; targeteers and lance-" men not less than 40000. That Aribaus " king of the Cappadocian, brings 6000 " horse, archers and targeteers not less than " 30000. The Arabian Maragdus 10000 " horse, 100 chariots, and of slingers a " very confiderable body. As to the Greeks " that are fettled in Afia, there's nothing " faid of certain whether they attend the ex-" pedition or no. They say that Gabæus, who " rules those that inhabit the country that " extends from Phrygia on the Helle'pont to " the plain of Cayster, contributes 6000 " horse, and 10000 targeteers. The Cari-" ans, Cilicians, and Paphlagonians, though " invited, they fay, do not attend the ex-" pedition. The Assirian who possesses " Babylon and the rest of Assyria, will, as I " judge,

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. 128 " judge, bring no less than 20000 horse, " chariots, as I know very well, not more " than 200; but I believe a vast body of " foot; for so he is accustom'd to do when " he falls in upon Us."—— " The enemy " then, faid Cyrus, you fay, amount to " 60000 horse, and to more than 200000 " targeteers and archers.—To proceed " then, what do you fay is the number of " your own forces?" --- " The Median " horse are above 10000; and of targeteers " and archers there may be perhaps in our " own territories about 60000; and of the " Armenians, our neighbours, we shall have " 4000 horse and 20000 foot." --- " You ce fay then, faid Cyrus, that we shall have " in horse less than a third part of the enemy's force of that fort, and scarce half the number of their foot." "What! faid Cyaxares, do you think those Persians, that you fay you bring are but an inconfiderable number?" "We will take anther time, faid Cyrus, to confider whether we want men or no.—At prefent, pray tell me what is the method of fight that is in use with those several people"

" velin." "Then, faid Cyrus, fince such are their arms, they must necessarily en- gage at a distance." "Necessarily, said "Cyaxares."

They almost all, faid Cyaxares, use the

our own use the bow, and others the ja-

Some of their men as well as of

"right. If you provide these arms, you will make it the safest way for Us to come to close fight with the enemy; and better for the enemy to fly than to stand their ground. For our own station, said he, we appoint against those that stand their ground; and those that fly we alto to you and to your horse, that they

" about the breast, a shield for the left hand, and a sword or cutlass for the

" may not have time to make their escape or to turn again." Thus Cyrus spoke.—

R Cyaxares

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. Cyaxares was of opinion that he faid very right, and he thought no longer of fend-ing for more men, but applied himself to the providing of the arms before-mention'd. And they were scarce got ready before the Persian gentlemen or alike-honoured arrived, bringing the Persian army with them.

Upon this, Cyrus is faid to have called the gentlemen together, and to have spoke to them thus: "Friends! I who saw, that " your persons were armed, and your minds prepared for close fight with your enemy, and knew that the Persians who attend " you were arm'd in fuch manner as to en-" gage only at a distance, was afraid that " being but few in number and destitute " of others to support you, when you fell " in with the great number of your enemy, " you might come by some misfortune. " Now therefore, faid he, that you are " come and bring with you men whose bo-" dies are not contemptible, and who are " to be supplied with arms like your own; " to raife their minds is now your part. " For it is the business of a commander " not only to be himself brave, but to take " fuch care of those that he rules, that they " may be made as brave as poffible." ---Thus he faid.

THEY were all much pleased; imagining they should now engage the enemy with more to affift and support them. And one of them spoke to this effect. "Perhaps, " faid he, I shall be thought to talk " strangely if I advise Cyrus, instead of Us, " to fay fomething to these men, who are " to be our supports and fellow-combat. " ants, when they receive their arms. For, " I know, faid he, that the words of those " who have the most power, to do service " or to do hurt, fink deeper into the minds " of the hearers. And the presents that " fuch men make, though they hap-" pen to be less than what men may re-" ceive from others like themselves, yet the " receivers value them more. So now, " faid he, the Perfians will be much more " pleased if they receive an exhortation " from Cyrus, than if they receive it from " us. And when they are placed in the " degree of the alike-honoured, they will think themselves more strongly confirm-" ed in it, if done by the fon of our king, " and by our commander in chief, than if " they are introduced to it by us. Nor " ought our endeavours to be wanting; " but we should use all possible means to " excite and raise the courage of these men; " for how much foever they become braver and better men, it will be so much the more to our advantage.

132 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II.

So Cyrus fetting down the arms in a place expos'd to view, and calling together all the Persian soldiers, spoke to this effect. " Men of Persia! You were born and bred " in the fame country that we were; You " have bodies that are no ways inferior to " ours, and you ought to have fouls too not inferior to ours. And yet, though " fuch you are in yourfelves, in our own " country you were not upon an equal foot " with us. Not that you were excluded " from it by us, but by the necessity you " were under of providing yourfelves with necessaries. Now, with the help of the gods! it shall be my care that you shall be supplied with these. And even though you may be in any fort inferior to us, yet by accepting these arms that are such as we have ourselves, it is in your power, " if you will, to run the same hazard with " us; and if any thing great and advantage-" ous happen to us upon it, to be thought " worthy of like advantages with ourselves. " Heretofore, you have used the bow and "the javelin; we have done the fame. " And if you are inferior to us in the prac-" tice of these, it is not at all wonderful; " for you have not had the leifure that we " have had, to exercise yourselves in them. " But in this fort of arms, we have no " advantage above you; for every one will " have a corselet, fitted to his breast, for

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Institution of Cyrus. Book II. " the left-hand a shield, which you are all " accustom'd to wear; and for the right, " a fword or cutlass, which you are to " use against the enemy; not needing to " be mindful of any thing but how not to " miss your blow. Under these arms there-" fore what difference can there be between " one and another amongst us, unless it be " in boldness, in which you ought not to " be inferior to us? How shou'd it be our " part more than yours to be defirous of " victory, by which all things great and " advantageous are acquired and preferved? " How can superiority of arms be less ne-" ceffary to you than to us, when it is by "this, that all that the conquer'd possess " becomes yielded to the victors?" -In conclusion he faid, "You have heard " all these things; you all of you see your " arms; He that thinks fit, let him take "them, and lift himself under his officer " into the same order and degree with us. " He that thinks it enough for him, to be in the station of a mercenary, let him " continue under fervile arms." Thus he faid.—The Perfians who heard him were of opinion, that if when they were invited to an equal share of all advantages, by sharing in like labours, they shou'd not agree to it, they shou'd then justly pass all their days in a mean and low condition. So 134 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. So they were all listed, and all took the arms.

During the time that the enemy was faid to be approaching but did not actually come, Cyrus endeavour'd to exercise the bodies of his men in order to give them strength and vigour; to teach them how to form themselves and to move in proper order; and to raise their minds to warlike affairs. And in the first place, being supplied with fervants by Cyaxares, he order'd them to supply all the foldiers with every thing ready made that they wanted. And having provided for this, he left them nothing to do but to practife such things as related to war, feeming to have learn'd this maxim, That those men were best at any thing, who, taking off their minds from application to many things, apply themfelves to one business singly. And of affairs that relate to war, cutting them off from the practife of the bow and javelin, he left them only this one thing to do, which was to fight with fword, shield, and corfelet. So that he presently brought their minds to this state, that they found they were either to engage their enemy hand to hand; or to confess, that they were very worthless supports and fellow-combatants. And this was a difficult thing to be own'd, by fuch as knew they were maintained for nothing nothing else but to fight for those that maintained them. Besides having consider'd that whatever the things are, wherein men are raised to an emulation one against another, those are the things, they are most willing to exercise themselves in; He appointed them to contend and vie with each other in all those kinds of things that he knew were fit to be exercised and practised by the soldiers.

THE things he fo appointed were thefe. To the private man, To make himself a good foldier, obedient to his commanders; ready to undergo larbour; to be enterprizing in dangers, but confiftently with good order; to be skilful in the military exercises; fond of having his arms beautiful and in good condition; and in all fuch matters defirous of praise. To the leader of five, to make himself such as it became the private man to be; and to do his utmost to make his five likewise such. To the leader of ten, to make his ten fuch. To the captain to do the same for his company; The colonel for his regiment; And in the fame manner, to the rest of the commanding officers, to render themselves unexceptionable and blameless; and to take care that those who were under their command shou'd in their feveral stations make those under them ready to do their duties. The rewards

136 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. wards he proposed in this contention were these. To the colonels, who by their care, appeared to have made themselves the best regiments, to be made commanders of a thousand; To the captains, who appeared to have made themselves the best companies, to be made colonels; To the leaders of ten, that approved themselves the best, to be advanced to the degree of captains; And to the leaders of five, in like manner to be advanced to the degree of leaders of ten: And to the private men, that behaved best, to be advanced to the degree of leaders of five. In the first place therefore all these officers, were well ferved by those they commanded, and then all the other honours, Juitable to every One, attended them. He likewise gave greater hopes to those who deserved praise, in case any more than ordinary advantage shou'd upon occasion fall in their way. He proposed also certain rewards of victory, to whole regiments and companies. So likewise to whole tens and fives, if they appeared to be the most obedient to their commanders, and to perform the things before mentioned with the greatest ardour and readiness: And the rewards to these were fuch as were the most proper to be bestow'd in common upon a number of men. These were the things that were proposed to the army and exercised amongst them.

TENTS he likewise provided for them, as many in number as were the colonels; and of a fize fuch as was fufficient for each regiment; and a regiment confifted of a hun-Thus they were quartered in dred men. tents by regiments. And it feemed to him to be of use to his men, in the war that was coming on, that by thus inhabiting together, they saw each other maintained alike; and there was no pretence of lying under a difadvantage, fo as to allow any one to be remifs, or one to be worfe than another, in acting against the enemy. It seemed to him likewise that this joint habitation was of use to them with respect to their knowing one another. For by being known, he thought that a fense of shame and reproach took more place upon all: For they who are unknown feem to act with less caution and restraint, as men do who are in the dark. And this cohabitation feemed to him to be of great fervice to his men with respect to exactness in their orders: For thus the colonels had their feveral regiments in order under them in their fleep, just as when a regiment is in a body upon the march; So the captains their companies; The commanders of tens their tens; And the commanders of five their five: And this exactness in their orders seemed to him to be of great fervice, both to prevent their being put into disorder; and if disorder'd, to fettle. fettle themselves more readily into order again. Just as in the case of stones and pieces of wood that are to be sitted together; which, if they have certain marks to make it evident to what place each of them belongs, one may with ease sit together again; into whatever irregular form they may have been thrown. And their being thus maintained together, he thought, was of service to them, in order to make them less ready to desert each other; Because he observed that beasts that had their maintenance together, were in great pain if separated by any One.

CYRUS also took care that they shou'd never go to their dinner or fupper without a sweat: For he either led them out to hunt, and gave them a fweat that way, or he contriv'd fuch sports for them as wou'd put them into one; or if any bufiness happened that was to be done, he fo managed it, that they should not return without fweating: For this he judged to be of fervice in order to make them eat with pleafure, to make them healthy, and to make them able to undergo labour: And labour he judged to be of use in making them more gentle one towards another; Because even horses that labour jointly together, stand likewise more gently and tamely together. And they who are confcious to themfelves

Book II. Institution of Cyrus. 136 selves of being duly exercised, are inspired with more bravery and courage against the enemy.

CYRUS likewise provided himself with a tent sufficient to contain those that he invited to fup with him; He invited for the most part such of the colonels as he thought proper; But he fometimes invited fome of the captains, some of the commanders of ten, and fome of the commanders of five; fometimes fome of the foldiers, and fometimes a whole five, a whole ten, a whole company, or a whole regiment together. He invited likewise and rewarded those that he faw practife any fuch thing as he defired all the others shou'd imitate. And the things that were fet before himfelf, and before those that he invited to supper were always alike He always made the fervants of the army likewise equal sharers in all things; For he thought it was not less becoming him to reward those who served in the concerns of the army, than to reward heralds and ambaffadors: For he was of opinion that they ought to be faithful. skill'd in military affairs, and intelligent, as well as zealous in their bufinefs, quick of dispatch, diligent, and orderly: Besides, whatever good quality they had who were accounted the better fort, that Cyrus thought the fervants ought to be posses'd of; and

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that it was their duty to bring themselves by practice to refuse no work, but to think it becoming them to do all things whatever that their commanders shou'd enjoin.

AND Cyrus always took care that while he entertained any of them in his tent, the most agreeable subjects of discourse, and fuch as might excite them to good, shou'd be thrown in amongst them. Upon a certain occasion therefore he began this difcourte. "Friends! faid he, are other men, "think you, any ways inferior to us, by " reason of their not being disciplin'd in " the same manner as we are? or will they " prove not to differ from us at all, either " in their converse with each other, or in " action against the enemy?"—Hystaspes in answer to him faid, "What they may " prove to be in action against the enemy, " I do not yet know; But by the gods! " fome of them feem already to be very " perverse and churlish in their conversa-"tion. For yesterday, said he, Cyaxares " fent certain victims to every regiment; " and we had every one of us three por-" tions or more that were carried and dif-" tributed around. Our cook began his " first distribution by me, when the per-" fon who was to make the fecond distri-" bution enter'd; I bid him begin with " the last man, and carry round the contrary " trary way. One therefore, from the " middle of the circle of the foldiers as " they lay, cried out, By Jove! faid he, " there's no manner of equality or fair-" ness in this, unless some body begin from " us here in the middle: I hearing this was " uneafy that any of them shou'd think " they lay under a difadvantage; and I " presently bid him come to me; in this " he in a very orderly manner obey'd me; " but when the portions that were distri-" buting came to us who were to take last, " they were the least that were left; he " then plainly discover'd himself to be very " much afflicted, and faid to himfelf, O ill " fortune! that I shou'd happen to be cal-" led hither! I then faid to him, do not " be disturbed; it will begin presently by " us, and you shall take first the biggest " portion: at the third going about, which " was the last turn, he took the next " after me; but as foon as the third per-" fon had taken, he fancied that this man " had taken a larger portion than himfelf, " and he threw back that, that he had " taken, intending to take another; but " the cook thinking that he wanted no " more meat, moved on, distributing a-" round, before he took another portion: here he bore so ill the misfortune of los-" ing the portion he had taken, that being " struck and in wrath at his ill fortune,

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142 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II.

"he misplaced and overturned some sauce he had remaining: a captain, who was the nearest us seeing this, clapp'd his hands, and laugh'd out, much delighted; ed; I, said Hystaspes, made as if I coughed; for I was not able to hold from laughing.—Cyrus, said he, such a one do I shew you one of our companions to be."—Upon this, as was natural they laughed.

Another of the colonels then spoke, " Cyrus, faid he, this Hystaspes it seems has " met with one of a very perverse temper: " but as you instruct us in the order and " discipline we were to observe, and dis-" miss'd us with commands to instruct, " every one his regiment, in the things " he had learn'd from you, so I, as others " did, came to a certain company, and " was teaching them; and placing the " captain first, and then a young man in " order after him, and fo the rest, as I " thought proper; and then standing be-" fore them, and looking upon the com-" pany; when I thought it the proper "time, I gave the command to advance; " this young man, advancing before the " the captain, march'd first; I, seeing him " do thus, faid to him; Friend, what are " you doing? The man faid, Why I advance as you command me. But, faid ee I'

Book II. Institution of Cyrus. " I, I did not command only you to ad-" vance but all; then turning to his com-" panions, Do not you hear, faid he, that " the colonel commands you all to ad-" vance? Then all of them, paffing the " captain by, came up to me; but when " the captain made them retire back again, " they were offended and faid, Whom are "we to obey? For now one bids us to " advance, and another will not fuffer us " to do it: bearing all this contentedly, " and placing them as at first, I told them, "that none of those behind shou'd move " till he that was before him lead the way, " but that they shou'd all mind only to " follow their leading-man: in the mean " time, there came to me a certain person " that was going to Persia, and he bid " me give him the letter I had wrote " home; now the captain knew where the " letter lay; I bid him therefore run and " fetch this letter; He ran his way; The " young man, arm'd as he was with cor-" felet and fword follow'd after his cap-" tain; The rest of his company seeing " him run, ran off with him; and all of " them came back again and brought me " the letter." --- " Thus, faid he, is this " company of mine mighty exact in exe-" cuting all the instructions they receive " from you."—The rest as was natural laugh'd at this guard and attendance upon the

THERE happened at that time to be in the tent a certain colonel; his name was Agloitadas, a churlish and austere fort of man in his manners; and he spoke thus; " Do you think now, Cyrus, faid he, that " these men tell you the truth?" "Why, " what end, faid Cyrus, have they in ly-" ing?" "What elfe, faid he, but to make " you laugh; and for this reason they tell " you these stories in a vain arrogant way." "Good words! pray! faid Cyrus; Do not " fay that they are vain and arrogant! For " the word arrogant feems to me to lie up-" on fuch as feign themselves richer or " braver than they really are; and pretend " to do what they are not able to do; and " that plainly act thus in order to get " fomething and make profit to themselves; "They that move their companions to " laughter,

" laughter, and do it, neither for their own " gain, nor to the hearers prejudice, nor " with intent to do any manner of harm, " why may not fuch be called polite and " agreeable, much rather than arrogant?" —Thus did Cyrus apologize for fuch as afforded matter of laughter.—The colonel then, who had told the pleasant story of the company of foldiers, faid " If we " endeavoured, Aglaitadas! to make you " cry, would not you blame us very much? " As there are some who in songs and dif-" courses uttering certain melancholy " notes and things, endeavour to move " people by tears; but now, though you " yourfelf know that we are defirous to " give you pleasure, and not in the least " to hurt you, yet you hold us thus in "great difgrace." "By Jove, faid Aglai-" tadas, I do, and justly; because, in my " opinion, he that makes his friends laugh " does a much more worthless and infigni-" ficant thing than he who makes him cry: " and you will find if you reckon right, " that I fay true: fathers bring their fons " to a discreet and modest temper of mind, " and teachers their youth to all good " learning, by tears; and it is by afflic-"tion and tears that the laws influence " citizens to justice in their conduct: but " can you possibly fay, that your movers of " laughter either do any service to the bo-" dies

146 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " dies of men, or form their minds to a " better fense of their duty, with respect " to their private families, or to the pub-" lick?"—Upon this, Hystaspes spoke in this manner; "Aglaitadas! faid he, if you " will follow my advice, you shall boldly " lay out this very valuable thing upon " our enemies; and you shall endeavour " to fet them a crying; but that worthless " thing, laughter, you shall spend upon " us, faid he, here amongst your friends. I "know you have a great deal of it that lies " by you in store; for you neither use nor " fpend it yourfelf; nor do you willingly " afford laughter either to your friends or " to strangers: so that you have no man-" ner of pretence to refuse bestowing it up-" on us." " Then, faid Aglaitadas, Do " you endeavour to get it out of me." And the leader of the company faid, "By " Fove! then he is a fool indeed; for I " believe one may strike fire out of you " more eafily than draw laughter from " you." —— At this the others laughed, knowing the temper of the man; and Agloitadas, himself smiled at it: Cyrus seeing him pleafed, faid, " Indeed, captain! you " are in the wrong to corrupt the most " ferious man we have, by tempting him " to laugh; and to do this, faid he, to " one who is fo great an enemy to laughter!"-Here ended this subject of discourse. AFTER

Institution of . CYRUS. Book II. AFTER this, Chryfantas spoke thus; "But " Cyrus! faid he, I and all that are here " present, consider, that there are come " hither with us, men, who have some of " them more merit and fome less; and if " any advantage fall in our way, they will " all think themselves entitled to an equal " share of it: but for my part, I do not " think that any thing can be more une-" qual amongst men, than that the good and " the bad should be entitled to equal ad-" vantages." Cyrus to this faid; "By the " gods! then friends! it were best for us " to give this out, and propose it to be de-" bated in the army; whether they think " it proper, if in consequence of our la-6 bours God give us any advantage, that " all should share alike in it? Or that " examining the actions of every one, we " shall give to each, rewards proportion-" able?" "But why, faid Chryfantas, should " you give this out to be discoursed upon, " and not declare that you will have it fo? " Did not you declare, faid he, What the " foldiers should contend and vie with each " other in? and what the rewards of the " contention should be?" "But, by Jove! " faid Cyrus, these matters and those are " not alike; For what they shall acquire " by their fervice, that I believe, they will " reckon common to them all; But the " command of the army they take to be " mine T 2

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148 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " mine even from the first setting out; so "that in appointing officers, I believe, " they think I do them no wrong." " And " do you think, faid Chryfantas, that the " multitude assembled will ever decree that " every one shall not have his equal share; " but that the best shall have the advan-"tage, in profits and honours? "I do " think it, faid Cyrus, partly, because of " your affiftance in it; and partly, because "it is infamous to affert, that he who la-" bours most for the publick, and does it " most fervice, is not entitled to the great-" est rewards: and I believe, that the very " worst of our men, will think it of ser-" vice to them that the best should have " the advantage."

crrus had a mind that this should be publickly decreed, even upon the account of the alike-honoured; For he thought that they would be yet better men, if they knew that they themselves were to be judged by their actions and rewarded accordingly. This therefore, seemed to him to be the proper opportunity to put it to the vote, whilst the alike-honoured were distaitssied with the claim of the multitude to equality of shares. So it was the current opinion of those in the tent to give out the discourse upon the subject; And they said that every one who thought it his part to act like a man

" for with respect to labour and things of that kind, he always contentedly allows any one to get the upper-hand of him that will."

" but here you have caught me in a lye,

"Friends! faid Cyrus, my judgment is, "that fuch men, as this person speaks of, ought to be weeded out of the army, if we intend to preserve it in its virtue and vigour, and to render the soldiers obedient: For the soldiers seem to me to be such as will follow where any one shall lead them the way: Good and excellent men certainly endeavour, to lead to things good and excellent; vicious men to things vicious; And corrupt men have often more abettors, than the sober and industrious. For vice that takes its course through

150 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. "through prefent pleasures, has these plea-"fures to affift in perswading the multitude " to abbet her; But virtue that moves up-" wards, has not strength enough in pre-" fent occasions to draw men without di-" stinction after her; especially if there are " others, in opposition to her, that exhort " men to follow the prone and easy tract. "They therefore who are faulty upon the " account of floth and indolence; these I " reckon, like drones, are burthensome to " their companions only by the expence of " maintaining them; But active affociates " in vice who profecute their interest with " industry and impudence, these are the " leaders of men to vicious courses; For " they often have it in their power to shew " them that vice will be ferviceable to their " interest. So that such men must entire-" ly be weeded out. Then pray! do not " confider how to recruit your regiments " with your own countrymen; but, as in " horses, you look for those that are best, " and not for those that are of your own "country; fo of men, take fuch as you "think will most contribute to your " ftrength and good order. And that it " will be to our advantage to do fo, This " will bear me testimony; that neither is " a chariot swift, if it have but flow horses; " nor is it true, if joined to vicious and unmanagable ones; Nor can a family be ingly.

AFTER this, Cyrus began again to set jest and merriment on foot; For observing that one of the captains had brought with him a fellow-guest; and had placed him next to himself; that the man was excessively rough and hairy, and very ugly; he called the captain by his name and fpoke thus; " Sambaulas! faid he, that young man that " lies next to you, do you carry him about " with you, according to the Greek custom, " because he is handsome?" " No, by Jove! " faid Sambaulas, but I am pleased with " his conversation, and even with looking " at him."——They that were prefent in the tent, upon hearing this looked at the man, and when they faw that his face was " excessive

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. excessive ugly, they all laughed; and one of them faid, "In the name of all the " gods! Sambaulas! by what piece of fer-" vice has this man fo tied himself to you?" He faid, "By Jove! friends, I will tell " you, whenever I have called upon him " either by night or by day, he never pre-" tended want of leifure, never obey'd la-" zily, but always ran to his business with " the utmost dispatch: As often as I have " ordered him to do a thing, I never faw " him execute it without putting himself " into a fweat; and he has made the whole " twelve fuch as himself, not shewing them " in word, but in action what they ought " to be." Then fome body faid, "Since he " is fuch an extraordinary man, do not " you kiss him as you do relations?" And to this the homely person reply'd, "No by " 'fove! faid he, for he is not one of those " that are fond of labour and pains; And " to kiss me would be as much to him, as " if he underwent the greatest toil."

SUCH kind of discourses and things, both merry and serious, passed amongst them in the tent. And having at last performed the third libation, and made their prayers to the gods for their blessings; they broke up their company in the tent, in order to go to rest.

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THE next day, Cyrus affembled all the foldiers and spoke to them to this effect. " Friends! the conflict is at hand! for the " enemies are approaching: The rewards " of our victory, if we conquer, it is evi-" dent, are our enemies themselves, and " their fortunes. On the other hand, if " we are conquered (for this ought always " to be mentioned) thus likewife do the " fortunes of the conquered stand exposed " as the rewards of the conquerors. There-" fore thus, faid he, you ought to deter-" mine with yourselves; that when men " are united as affociates in war, if every " one within himself makes account, that " nothing will be as it ought to be, unless " every one be inspired with zeal and ar-" dour, they then presently perform things " great and noble; For nothing of what " is proper to be done, is in this case neg-" lected. But when every one imagines " that another is to fight and act, though " he himself play the drone; Be it known " to you, faid he, that with fuch the fuc-" cess of things will be unhappy to them " all. God himself has so established it; to " those who will not impose upon them-" felves the task of labouring for their own " advantage he gives other talk-masters. " Now therefore, faid he, let some one " stand up and speak to this point; whe-" ther he think that virtue will be the bet154 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II.

"ter practifed amongst us, if he who chooses to undergo the greatest toil and run the greatest hazards obtain the greatest rewards? or if we all see that the worthless man lies under no disadvantage, but that all of us are to share alike?"

HERE, Chrysantas one of the alike-honoured, one who was neither tall in his person, nor whose looks bespoke either courage or spirit, but a man of excellent understanding, rose up and spoke thus; "In " truth, Cyrus, faid he, my opinion is, that " you do not propose this to our debate, " as judging it fit that the worthless shou'd " frand upon a foot of equal advantage " with the deferving; but to try whether " there be fuch a man amongst us that will " venture to discover himself to be of opi-" nion, that he who performs nothing " that's great and noble, should share e-" qually of those advantages, that are gained " by the virtue and bravery of others. I am, " faid he, neither swift of foot, nor have I " great strength and vigour in my hands and " arms; and by what I can perform with " my person I reckon I can not be judg-" ed to be the first man, nor yet the se-" cond, I believe not the thousandth; per-" haps not the ten thousandth; But this I " very well know, that if they who are

AFTER him, rose Pheraulas, a Persion, one of the common people; a man intimately known to Cyrus, and much in his favour whilst they were yet in Persia; one whose person was not uncomely; and who with respect to his mind, was not like one of the mean and ignoble; And he spoke to this effect. "I, Cyrus, faid he, and all the " Persians here present, reckon ourselves " now enter'd in the lifts of virtue; and " fetting forward in its career upon an e-" qual foot: for I fee that our bodies are " all exercised alike; and nourished with " like food; that like company and con-" versation is vouchsafed to us all; and " that the same honourable actions lie be-" fore us: for obedience to our comman-" ders lies before us in common, and who-" ever is found fincerely to practife it, that " man, I fee, obtains rewards and honours U 2

156 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " at the hands of Cyrus: then to act with " bravery against the enemy is not a thing " that is becoming to one, and is other-" wife to another, but stands recommend-" ed as great and noble to us all. And I " take upon me to fay, that our method " of fight is now plainly taught us. I fee " that all men naturally know it; as every " other animal naturally knows a certain " method of fight, and this without learn-" ing it from any other than from nature; " as the bull attacks with his horn, the " horse with his hoof, the dog with his " mouth, the boar with his tooth; and all " of them know, faid he, by what means " best to defend themselves against the at-" tack of others; and these things proceed " not from the instruction of any master " in these arts. I understood presently from a child, how to interpole some-" thing between myself and the person " who offer'd to strike me; and if I had " nothing elfe, I endeavour'd as well as I " was able, by holding up my hands to " hinder and oppose the person that as-" faulted me; and this I did not only " without being taught it, but even though " I were beaten for defending myfelf. When " I was a child, wherever I faw a fword, I " presently seized it; nor was I taught how " to handle it by any one, but, as I fay, ff by nature: this therefore I did, not only " untaught, " untaught, but even cross'd and hinder'd " in it; as there are many other things " that I have been necessarily prompted by " nature to do, though controul'd and " check'd in them both by my father and " mother. Then, by Jove! with this sword, " I hack'd and hew'd whatever came in my " way, when I cou'd do it privately and " unfeen; for it was not only natural to " me like walking and running, but be-" fides its being natural, I thought it a " pleasure to do it. Since therefore, said " he, that fighting is the thing now left us " to do, and that it is a work that requires " courage rather than art, How can it be " other than a pleasure to us to enter the " lifts with these noble persons the alike-" honoured? When the rewards of vir-" tue lie equally before us, and we of the people do not run an equal risque? They " have at stake a life of honour which is " the most agreeable, and the only one that can be called a life; we only a la-" borious and ignoble one, which in my " opinion is but painful and unhappy. "Then this, friends! greatly animates me " to enter the lists against these men; that " Cyrus is to be our judge; He who judges " not partially and invidiously, but, I aver, " and fwear it by the gods! that I think " Cyrus loves those that he finds to be deferving not less than he does himself: " accord-

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " accordingly I observe that he bestows " what he has, upon fuch men, with more " pleasure, than he takes in his own pos-" session of it. Besides, said he, these men " are greatly elevated, with their having " been disciplined to bear hunger, thirst, " and cold; not knowing that we have " been disciplined in the same things under " a much abler teacher than they have " been: for there is none a more effectual " teacher of these things than necessity, "that has taught them us in the com-" pleatest manner. These men have exer-" cifed themselves in the labour of bearing " arms that have been fo contrived by all " men as to be worn with the greatest " ease: but we, said he, have been obliged! " by necessity to walk and run under hea-" vy burthens; fo that the arms we now " bear feem to me, not to be like burthens, " but rather like wings. So count upon " me, faid he, Cyrus! as one that will en-" gage in this dispute, and who defire, " whatever degree I am in, to be rewarded " according to my defert. And I exhort " you, my friends of the people! to em-" bark in this military contention, against " these men of discipline; for they are now " drawn in and caught in this popular " dispute." —— So spoke Pheraulas; and many others stood up to support them both in their opinion. It was thought fit

Book II. Institution of Cyrus. 159 therefore that every one should be rewarded according to his desert; and that Cyrus shou'd be the judge.

Thus did these things proceed; and Cyrus took an occasion to invite an entire regiment; together with their colonel to sup with him; This he did upon having feen the man forming half the men of his regiment against the other half, in order to attack each other; They had all of them their corfelets on, and in their left hands their shields; but to one half he had given good large sticks for their right hands; and the others he had order'd to gather clods to throw. When they stood thus ready prepared, he gave them the fignal to engage: Then these fell on with their clods; some chanched to fall upon the corfelets of the opposite party; some upon their shields; fome hit a thigh, fome a leg; but when they came to close, they who had the sticks, apply'd their blows upon the thighs, hands, and legs of their adversaries, as well as upon the necks and backs, of fuch as stoop'd for their clods: And at last they that were armed with the sticks put the others to the rout, laying them on, with much laughter and diversion. Then the others in their turn taking the sticks did the same thing to those, who took their turn in throwing the clods. Cyrus was much taken with these things;

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. 160 things; both with the contrivance of the officer, the obedience of the men, that they were at the same time both exercised and diverted, and that those men gained the victory who were armed in the manner that resembled the Persians. Being pleased with these things, he invited them to supper; and observing some of them with their shins bound up, and some with their hands in the fame condition, he asked them what harm they had got, they faid, "They had " been struck with the clods." " He then " asked them again, Whether it was when " they were close together, or while they " were at a distance?" They said, "While " they were at a distance; but that when " they closed, it was the finest sport ima-" ginable for those that were armed with " the sticks; But then again, they that " were wounded by the sticks, cried out, " that they did not at all think it a diver-" fion to be thrashed in that close way." They shew the blows they received from those that held the sticks both upon their hands and neck, and fome in their faces: and then as was natural, they laughed at one another.—The next day the whole field was full of people imitating these men: And whenever they had nothing of more derious business to do, they made use of this diversion.

AND

AND Cyrus observing another colonel, upon a certain occasion, leading his men from the river, one by one, to their dinner; and when he thought it proper ordering the fecond, third and fourth company, to advance in front; and when the captains were all in front, ordering each company to double their files, upon which the commanders of tens advanced in front; and that then, when he thought it proper, he ordered each company to bring themselves, to be four in front, thus the commanders of five advanced that the company might march four in front; and that when they arrived at the door of the tent, commanding them to enter one by one; he introduced the first company, ordering the second to follow them in the rear, and the third and fourth in like manner, and fo lead them all in; and that introducing them in this manner he fat them all down to their meat in the order as they entered: He being much taken with this man for his good temper, instruction, and care, invited the whole regiment to sup with him, together with the colonel.—But another colonel who had not been invited being present at the time fpoke thus; "But my regiment " Cyrus! faid he, you do not invite to your " tent; yet when they go to their dinner, " they perform all these things; and when " the business in the tent is over, the rear-" leader

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " leader of the last company leads out that " company with the last men ranged first " in order for battle; then the rear leader " of the next company follows after these; " fo the third and fourth in the fame man-" ner; that, when it is proper to lead off " from the enemy, they may know how " to retreat. And when we get into the " courfe, we there move about; when we " march to the east, I lead the way, and " the first company moves first, the second 'in its order, so the third and fourth, and " the tens and fives of the feveral compa-" nies, in the proper course, as long as I " give orders accordingly: But, faid he, " when we march to the west, the rear-" leader and the last men lead the way, and " yet obey me who march last; that they " be accustomed both to follow and to lead " with equal obedience." " And do you " always do thus?" faid Cyrus. " As often, " faid he, as we take our meals." " I will invite you therefore, faid he, because you " practife your exercise both in advancing and retreating, by day and night, and " both exercise your bodies by the motion, " and profit your minds by the discipline. " And fince you do all these things double, " it is but just that I should give you dou-" ble good entertainment." " By Jove! faid " the colonel, not in one day, unless you " give us double stomachs too." --- Thus they Book II. Institution of Cyrus. 163 they made an end of that conversation in the tent. And the next day Cyrus invited this regiment, as he said he would, and did the same again the day following; The rest perceiving this all imitated those men for the future.

But as Cyrus, upon a certain occasion, was making a general muster and review of his men under arms, there came a meffenger from Cyaxares, acquainting him that an Indian embassy was arrived. "Cyaxares, " faid the messenger, desires, that you " would come as foon as possible; and " from him I bring you a beautiful robe: " For he has a mind that you should ap-" pear in the handsomest and most splendid " manner; the Indians being to see the " manner of your approach." Cyrus, hearing this, gave command to the colonel who stood first in order, to place himself in front, bringing his men into one line behind him, and to keep himself to the right. He commanded him to transmit the same orders to the fecond, and so to deliver them down through the whole. These men in obedience to Cyrus presently delivered down the orders, and put them in execution. In a very little time they formed a front of three hundred; for that was the number of the colonels; and they were an hundred in depth. When they stood thus, he commanded 164 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. manded them to follow as he should lead them; And beginning prefently to run he led them the way. But when he perceived the avenue, that lead to the palace straiter, than to allow them all to move on in front; he commanded the first thousand to follow in the fituation and order they were in, and the next to follow in the rear of this, and fo in like manner throughout the whole. He himself led on without stopping. The other thousands followed, each in the rear of those that went before. And he fent two fervants to the opening of the avenue to give information of what was to be done in case any should be ignorant of it. When they came to Cyaxares's gates, he commanded the first colonel to form his regiment to twelve in depth, and to range the commanders of twelves in front around the palace; he commanded him likewise to transmit these orders to the second, and so throughout the whole. They did accordingly.—He himself went in to Cyaxares in a plain *Persian* robe undifguised with foreign ornaments, Cyaxares feeing him, was pleased with his dispatch; but offended at the meanness of his robe; and said, "What " have you done, Cyrus! in appearing thus " before the *Indians?* I had a mind, faid " he, that you should appear in the most " splendid manner; And it had been an " ornament to me, for you, who are my " fifter's

Institution of Cyrus. Book II. " fifter's fon, to have appeared the most " magnificent that was possible." Cyrus to " this faid, " Which way, Cyaxares! had " I been the greater ornament to you, whe-" ther, if cloathing myself in purple, put-" ting on bracelets, and encompassing my " neck with a collar, I had obey'd you in " a loitering manner; or now that with fo " great and fo good a force, I obey you " with fuch dispatch; having in honour of " you, adorned myself with sweat and di-" ligence; and adorning you, by shewing " the rest to be so obedient to your orders?" Cyrus thus spoke.

CYAXARES, judging that he faid right, gave order to introduce the Indians. The Indians, being come in, said, "That " the king of the Indians had fent them; " and had commanded them to ask, what " was the cause of the war between the " Medes and Affyrians? And when we had " heard you, faid they, he commanded us . " to go to the Affyrian and atk him the " fame question; and in the end to tell you " both, that the king of the Indians does " declare, that, after having informed him-" felf of the justice of the cause, he will " take part with the injured." Cyaxares to this faid. "You hear me therefore declare, " that we have done no injury to the Affy-" rians; Go then and enquire from him " what

166 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II.

"what he fays to it." Cyrus, being present, asked Cyaxares this question; "And may I, "said he, say what I think proper upon "this occasion?" Cyaxares bid him do so. "Do you therefore, said he, acquaint the king of the Indians thus! (unless Cyaxa-"res judge otherwise) That if the Assyrian fay, he has been any ways injured by us, "we declare, that we chuse the king of the Indians himself to be our judge."—These men hearing this, went their way.

WHEN the Indians were gone, Cyrus began a discourse with Cyaxares to this effect; " I came from home, Cyaxares, without " having abundance of treasure of my own; " and whatever it was, I have but very " little of it left; for I have spent it, said he, " upon the foldiers: This perhaps you " will wonder at, fince it is you that main-" tain them. But be it known to you! " faid he, that it has gone in nothing " else but in rewards, and gratifications " to the foldiers, whenever I have been " pleased with any of them. For in my " opinion, faid he, it is a much pleafanter " thing to encourage all those that one " has a mind to make diligent and good " fellow-labourers with one in any bu-" finess of whatever kind it be, by speak-" ing them fair, and doing them good, " than to do it by fevere usage and by " force

Institution of Cyrus. Book II. " force. But those that one wou'd have " to be zealous fellow-labourers in the bu-" finess of war, these I think, ought ab-" folutely to be courted to it both by good " words and good deeds: for fuch as are " to be hearty and fincere fellow-comba-" tants, who shall neither envy their com-" mander in profperity, nor betray him " in adversity, ought to be friends and not " enemies. Having determined thus with " myself in these matters, I think myself " in want of money. And yet, to have " my eye upon every occasion upon you, " when I fee you are already engaged in " very great expences, feems to me unrea-" fonable. But I think it proper that you " and I should jointly consider what means " to use that treasure may not fail you. " For if you have plenty, I know that I " may take it whenever I want; especially " if I take for fuch a purpose, as will " make it more to your advantage that the " treasure should be so spent. I remember " therefore upon fome occasion lately to " have heard you fay, that the Armenian " is now grown to contemn you, because " he hears that the enemy is coming upon " us; and besides, that he neither sends " you the forces, nor pays you the tribute "that is due." "Indeed Cyrus, faid he, " these things he really does; so that I am " in doubt whether it be better for me to " make

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. 168 " make war upon him and force him to " comply, or whether it be most for our " interest to let it pass for the present, least " we add him to the number of our enemies." Cyrus then asked; "Are their " habitations in places of strength, or in " fuch as are acceffible with ease?" And Cyaxares faid, "Their habitations are in " places that are not very ftrong; for I " was not negligent in that affair. But " there are mountains whither he may " immediately retire and be in fafety; fo " as neither to be himself exposed, nor any " thing else that may possibly be carried " off thither; unless one fit down and be-" fiege him there, as my father once did." Upon this, Cyrus faid thus; "But if you " will fend me with fuch a number of " horse as may be thought sufficient, I be-" lieve, with the affiftance of the gods! I " can make him fend you forces, and pay " you tribute. And besides, I even hope, " that he will be yet more our friend than " he is now." Cyanares then faid; " And " I have hopes that he will fooner come to " you, than he will to us. For I have " heard, that fome of his children were " your fellow-huntimen. So that perhaps, " they may come to you again. And if " fome of them once come to be in our " power, every thing will fucceed to our " desire." " Is it not your opinion then,

" faid

Book II. Institution of Cyrus. 169 " faid Cyrus, that it will be for our ad-" vantage to conceal this contrivance be-" tween us?" " By this means, faid Cy-" axares, fome or other of them may the " more eafily fall in our hands: or if one " fall upon them, they may be taken the " more unprepared." " Hear then, faid " Cyrus, if you think what I am going to " fay may be of any moment; I have of-" ten hunted upon the borders of your " territory, and that of the Armenians, " with all the Persians that were with me; " and I went thither, taking likewife from " hence feveral horse-men from amongst " my companions here." "Therefore, faid " Cyaxares, by doing just the same things " now, you may pass unsuspected; but if " a much greater force should appear than " what you used to have with you in hunting, this would prefently give suspicion." " But, faid Cyrus, one may frame a very " plaufible pretence in this case; and that is, if care be taken that some body give " them an account yonder in Armenia, " that I intend to undertake a great hunt: " then, faid he, I wou'd openly defire from " you a body of horse." "You say very " well, faid Cyaxares, but I shall consent " to give you but a few, as intending to " march myfelf to our garrisons that lie " towards Affyria. And in reality, said " he, I do intend to go thither, in order

170 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II.

" to strengthen them as much as possible.

" But when you are got before with the

" force you have, and have hunted for a

" day or two following, I may fend you a

" fufficient force both of horse and foot, out of those that have rendezvous'd un-

" der me. With these you may imme-

" diately fall on, and I, with the other

" forces may endeavour to keep not far

" from you, that if there be occasion I may

" likewise appear."

Accordingly, Cyaxares presently formed a body of horse at the garrisons; and sent waggons with provisions before by the road that lead that way. Cyrus presently made a facrifice for his intended march; and at the fame time fent and begg'd of Cyaxares fome of his cavalry, and fuch as were of the younger fort. He, though there were multitudes that would have attended Cyrus, granted him not very many. Cyaxares being now gone before, with forces, both horse and foot, upon the road towards the garrisons; it happened, that Cyrus's facrifice upon his defign against the Armenian succeeded happily; so he set forward as prepared for a hunt. As he was marching, a hare started immediately in the first field; and an eagle of happy omen flying towards them, caught fight of the hare as it ran; and bearing down upon it, struck it; then **fnatching** Book II. Institution of Cyrus. 171 snatching it up raised it aloft, and bearing it away to an eminence not, far off, did there what it thought fit with its prey. Cyrus therefore seeing this signal, paid his adoration to fove sovereign of the gods! and said to those that were present, "Friends! our hunt if it please God, will be a noble one!"

When they came to the borders, he hunted after his usual manner. The greater number of his horse and foot open'd themfelves in front, in order to rouse the beasts as they moved down upon them. The best of his men, both horse and foot stood here and there dispers'd, received the beasts as they were roused, and pursued them; and they took abundance both of fwine, stags, goats, and wild affes; for there are yet abundance of wild affes in those parts at this day. When they had finished the hunt, and he had brought them close up to the Armenian borders, he order'd them to fupper; and the next day hunted again, advancing to those mountains that he had defired to be mafter of. And when he had again ended his fport, he took his fupper. But as foon as he found that the forces from Cyaxares were advancing, he fent privately to them, and order'd them to take their supper at about the distance of two parfangs from him, forefeeing that this would contribute to the concealing the affair. When they had supp'd, he order'd their commander to march and join him. After supper was over, he summon'd the colonels to him; and when they were come he spoke to them thus.

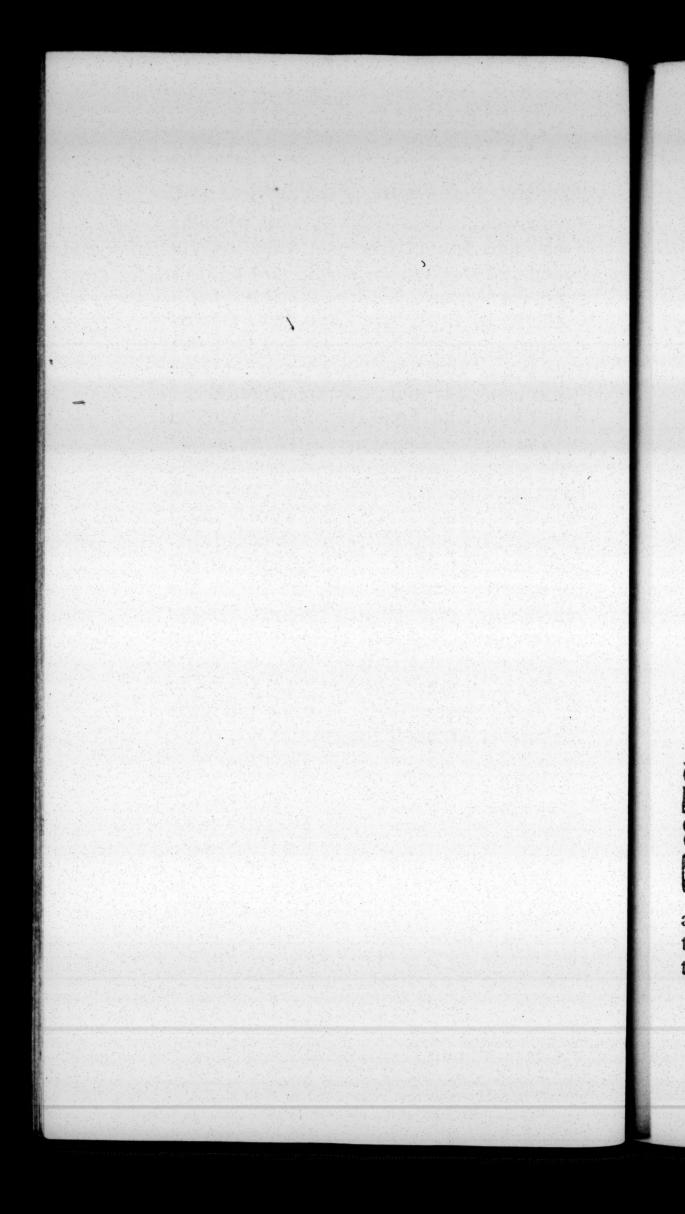
"FRIENDS! the Armenian has been " heretofore both an ally and subject of " Cyaxares: but now that he finds the ene-" my coming upon him, he contemns him; " and neither fends him forces nor pays " him tribute. It is he therefore that we " must now hunt, and catch if we can, " Thus therefore, faid he, in my opinion, " we must now do. Do you Chrysantas! " when you have had a little time to fleep, " take half the Persians that are with us, " march by the hill, and make yourfelf " master of those mountains whither, they " fay; the Armenian flies when he finds himself in danger; and I will give you " guides. They fay these mountains are " full of woods; fo that there are hopes " you will not be discover'd. However, if " you fend before the rest of your army, " fome light men equipped for expedition, " who both by their number and habit, " may look like plunders; these men, if they meet with any of the Armenians, " will prevent those that they can take, " from giving an account of things; and · by " by driving away those they cannot take, " will hinder them from feeing the whole " army; and will make them provide for " themselves only as against a band of " thieves. Do you, faid he, do thus. I, " at break of day, with half the foot and " all the horse, will march directly to the " palace of the Armenian, by the plain. If he make head against us, it is plain we " must fight. If he retire and quit the " plain, it is evident we must hasten after in pursuit of him. If he fly to the mountains, then, faid he, it is your bu-" fines not to allow any of those that come " to escape you; but reckon as in hunt-" ing, that we are to be the finders, and " that you stand at the nets. Remember " therefore this; that the passages must be " first stopped before the beast is roused: " and that they who are appointed to that " station ought to keep concealed, if they " have not a mind to turn off every thing " that takes its course towards them. And " do not act now, faid he, Chrysantas! as " the love of hunting has fometimes made " you do. For you have often been em-" ploy'd the whole night, and have not " flept at all. But you should now allow " your men to lie down a while, that they " may get a little fleep. And because you " used to wander through the mountains, " without taking men for your guides, but " purfued

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book II. " purfued wherever the beafts lead the way; " do not march therefore, now, through " fuch difficult places; but bid your guides " lead you the easiest way; unless there be " one that is abundanaly the shorter; for " to an army the easiest way is the quick-" est. And because you used to pass the " mountains running, do not therefore " now lead on at full speed, but with mid-" dling dispatch, in such fort, that the ar-" my may follow you. And it is of great " use that some of the most vigorous and " hearty should halt sometimes, and en-" courage the rest; and when the whole " wing is passed, it animates the others to " dispatch, to see these running besides " them, and passing them by as they them-" felves move on in their gentle pace."

CHRYSANTAS, hearing this, and being transported with the orders, Cyrus had given him; took his guides and went his way. And having given the proper directions to those that were to attend in his march, he went to rest. When they had had a moderate time for rest, he marched to the mountains.

CYRUS, as foon as it was day, dispatched a messenger to the Armenian; and bid him say thus; "Prince of Armenia!" Cyrus sends you these directions, that "you

Book II. Institution of Cyrus. " you would come away as foon as poffi-" ble, and bring with you your tribute " and your forces; If he asks you where I " am? tell him the truth, that I am upon " the borders. If he ask whether I am ad-" vancing towards him? tell him the truth " here too, that you do not know. If he " enquire how many we are in number? " bid him fend fome body back with you " to learn." Having given the messenger these orders, he dispatched him away; thinking it more friendly to do thus, than to march without fending word. And having formed his men into the best order, both for dispatch in marching, and for engagement in case of need, he began the march; first commanding his men to injure no one; and if any of them met with an Armenian, to bid him be of good heart; and to order every one that had a mind to fell either meat or drink, to come and make his market wherever they were.





CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C T R U S.

By X E N O P H O N.

BOOK III.



YRUS was taken up in these affairs: but the Armenian, as soon as he heard from the messenger, what Cyrus sent to tell him, was struck with it, considering that he had

acted unjustly both in failing to pay his tribute, and in not sending his forces. And the thing he principally seared was least he should

178 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. should be discovered to have begun fortifying the place of his residence in such fort as to render it defensible. Being at a loss upon all these accounts, he sent around to affemble his forces. At the fame time he fent his younger fon Sabaris, his own wife, his fon's wife, and his own daughters away to the mountains, and fent with them all his most valuable apparel and furniture, appointing them a force to conduct them. And at the same time he sent out scouts to discover what Cyrus was doing, and mustered all the Armenians he had at present with him. When immediately there arrived others who told him that Cyrus was just behind them. And not having courage enough upon this occasion to come to action, he retired.

The Armenians when they faw him act in this manner, ran every one to their own affairs, with intent to put all their effects out of the way. Cyrus when he faw the whole country full of people running up and down, and driving all off, fent them word that he would be an enemy to none that remained at home; but if he caught any one making his escape, he declared he would treat him as an enemy. So the major part remained; some there were who went off with the king.

But

But when they who conducted the women fell in among those who were in the mountains, they prefently fet up a cry, and betaking themselves to flight, many of them were taken, and at last, the son of the Armenian, the two wives and the daughters, were likewise taken; as well as all the rich effects that were carrying off with them. As foon as the king perceiv'd what had pass'd, being at a loss which way to turn himself, he fled to a certain eminence. Cvrus feeing this furrounded the eminence with the army that he had with him, and fending to Chryfantas, ordered him to leave a guard upon the mountains and to come away. The army then joined under Cyrus. And he, fending a herald to the Armenian, put the question to him in this manner. "Tell me, faid he, Armenian! whether " it is your choice, staying there to com-" bat and struggle with thirst and hun-" ger? or, to come down upon fair ground " and fight us?" The Armenian answered, "That he did not choose to engage in ei-" ther of these ways." Cyrus sending again to him, asked him this question. "Why " then fit you there and do not come "down?" I am at a loss, said he, what " I ought to do." " But you ought not " to be at a loss about it, said Cyrus, for " you are at liberty to come down and " have your cause try'd. " And who, said " he, Z 2

180 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

"he, shall be the judge?" "He without doubt, to whom God has given power to deal with you, as he pleases, without a trial." Here the Armenian, seeing the necessity, came down: and Cyrus, taking him and all that belonged to him into the midst of them, encamped around, having his whole force with him.

Just at this time, Tygranes, the eldest fon of the Armenian, returned from a journey he had taken abroad; he who had been heretofore a fellow-huntsman with Cyrus. When he heard what had happen'd, he went directly to Cyrus just as he was, and when he faw his father, and mother, his brother, his fifters, and his wife prifoners, he wept, as was natural for him to do. Cyrus upon feeing him, gave him no other mark of respect or friendship, but faid to him, "You are come very oppor-"tunely that you may be prefent and hear et the trial and determination of your fa-" ther's cause !" He then presently summon'd all the commanders of the Persians and Medes, and invited all fuch of the Armenians there, as were men of note and quality; and the women, who were there present in their chariots, he sent not away, but allowed them to hear.

When all was ready and in order, he began the discourse. " Armenian! said he, " first of all I advise you, in this trial of " your cause to speak the truth, that you " may be free from one crime at least, " which is a most hateful one. For be as-" fured, that to be found false, is the " greatest bar that can lie in men's way to " the obtaining of pardon. Then, faid " he, These children and wives of yours, " and all the Armenians present are ap-" prized of all that you have done; and if " they perceive that you fay things con-" trary to what has pass'd, they will think, " if I discover the truth, that you condemn " yourself to the extremity of punish-" ment." " Ask me, said he, Cyrus! what " you will, as being refolved to tell you " truth, happen what will in confequence " of it." Tell me then, said he, did you " fome time ago make war with Astyages " my mother's father, and with the rest " of the Medes?" "I did," faid he; "And " when you were conquered by him, did " you agree, that you would pay him tri-" bute? that you would join your forces " to his wherever he should direct? and "that you would have no fortifications?" "These things were as you say." "Now " therefore, why have you neither brought " your tribute, nor fent your forces but " were building you fortifications?" He reply'd,

182 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. ply'd, "I was defirous of liberty; for I " thought it a noble thing both to be free " myfelf, and to leave liberty to my chil-"dren." "Tis indeed noble! faid Cyrus, "to fight in order not to be made a flave: " but if a man be conquered in war, or " by any other means be reduced to fervi-" tude, and be found attempting to throw " off his masters, do you yourself first pro-" nounce whether you reward and honour " fuch a one as an honest man, and as one " that does noble things? Or, if you take " him, do you punish him as one that acts " unjustly?" "I punish him, said he, you " do not fuffer me to falfify." "Tell me " therefore plainly, faid Cyrus, and in par-" ticular thus; If a man be a governor and " transgress, do you suffer him to continue " in his government, or do you constitute " another in his stead?" " I constitute " another, faid he." " If he is master of " great riches, do you suffer him to con-" tinue rich, or do you reduce him to po-" verty?" " I take from him, faid he, all " that he has." " If you find him revolt-"ing to the enemy, what do you do?" " I put him to death, faid he; for why " should I die convicted of falshood, ra-" ther than die telling the truth?"

HERE, his fon, as foon as he heard these things, threw off his turbant and rent his cloaths!

Book III. Inflitution of Cyrus. 183 cloaths! The women fet up a lamentable cry, and tore themselves as if their father were expired, and themselves lost and undone!—Cyrus bid them be silent, and again spoke. "Be it so, Armenian! that these determinations of yours are just, what do you advise us to do upon it?" The Armenian was silent, being at a loss whether he should advise Cyrus, to put him to death, or direct him to act just contrary to what he had said he would do himself.

His fon Tygrannes then asked Cyrus; " Tell me, faid he, Cyrus! fince my father " feems to be at a lofs, whether I shall ad-" vise you what I think best for you to do " in this case?" And Cyrus, well remembering that when Tygrannes used to hunt with him, there was a certain fage very conversant with him, and much admired by him, was very defirous to hear what he would fay, and joyfully bid him fpeak his opinion.—" Then, faid Tygrannes, if you " approve all the measures that my father " has concerted, and all that he has done, " I advise you by all means to imitate him. " But if you are of opinion, that he has " transgressed in all, my advice is that you " should not imitate him." "Then, said " Cyrus, by doing justice I shall be the far-"thest from an imitation of the person " transgressing." "It is so," said he. "Ac-" cording

184 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " cording to your own reasoning then, " your father should be punished, if it be "just to punish one who acts unjustly." "But whether do you think it best, Cyrus! " to inflict your punishments for your own " advantage, or to your own prejudice?" " Why this way, faid he, I should punish " myself." "And truly you would be high-" ly punished, said Tygranes, if you put to " death those that belonged to you, at the " time that they would be of the greatest " fervice to you to preferve." "But how, " faid Cyrus, can men be so highly serviceable and useful, when found to have " acted unjuitly?" " Why truly, if they " become confiderate and humble." For in " my judgment, Cyrus! things stand thus. " — There is no virtue uleful and pro-" fitable, without a discreet and sober sense " of things. For, faid he, what use can " be made of a man, who has strength " and bravery without discretion and mo-" defty? What use of one skilled in horse-" manship, or of one abounding in riches, " or powerful in his country? But with " discretion and modesty every friend is " useful, and every servant good." -" This, therefore, faid he you affert; that " your father from infolent and haughty, " is become difcreet and humble, in this one day's time?" "I do," faid he. Then " this discreet and modest state of mind, " you

Book III. Institution of Cyrus.

185

" you pronounce to be a passion of the " foul, as grief is; and not a matter of "knowledge and science! For if it be ne-" ceffary, that he who becomes discreet " and modest, should be wife and know-" ing, he cannot then, from infolent and " haughty, become in an instant, discreet " and modest." " But, Cyrus! said he, " did you never observe a man, out of " pride and infolence, attempt fighting with " another more powerful than himself, and " when conquered, prefently fall from that " insolence? Again, said he, have you " never feen one city engaged in war with " another, and when conquered, immedi-" ately by this means, become willing to " obey, instead of continuing the war?" " And what conquest over your father, " faid Cyrus, is this you speak of, and that " thus forcibly brings him to a discreet and " humble fense of things?" Why truly, " the being conscious to himself, that " while he has affected liberty, he has be-" come yet more a flave than ever; and " that of all the things he thought to have " effected, by privacy, by artifice, or by " force, he has not been able to effect one: " but has feen you deceive him, in every " thing you intended to deceive him in, as " effectually as one might deceive the blind, " or the deaf, or men of no understand-"ing at all; he knows you have kept " your186 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

" yourfelf fo concealed from him, where " you thought it proper fo to do, that the places he thought the most secure to " to him, these by conceal'd preparations you have made yourself master of; and you have so far exceeded him in difof patch, that you are come upon him with a very confiderable army, from afar, be-" fore he had affembled his forces, that " were just at hand." " Are you of opi-" nion then, faid Cyrus, that fuch a con-" quest is sufficient to give men so much " confideration and modesty, as to think "others better than themselves?" Much " more, faid Tagranes, than if a man " were conquered in fight; for he who is " fubdued by force, may think that by " exercifing his body he may be enabled " to renew the combat; and cities that " have been taken, imagine that by gain-" ing allies they may renew the war. But " men often voluntarily submit to those " whom they judge better than themselves, " though under no necessity of doing it." " You feem, said he not to be of opinion, " that the proud and infolent, can have " any fense that there are any more modest " and confiderate than themselves; or " thieves that there are any who are not " thieves; or false men that there are any " observers of truth; or unjust men that " there are any who act with Justice. Do " not

Book III. Institution of Cyrus. 187 " not you know, faid he, that your fa-" ther has at this time dealt falfly, and " not flood to his agreements with us, tho" " he knew very well that we had not tranf-" gressed in any fort what Astyages had sti-" pulated?" "Nor do I fay, that the know-" ledge alone, of others being better than " ourselves, makes men considerate and " modest, unless they receive punishment " at the hands of those their betters as my " father now has done." --- " But your " father, said Cyrus, has yet suffer'd no fort " of ill: I know very well that he is afraid " indeed of the highest punishments." " Do you think therefore, faid Tygranes, " that any thing oppresses men more than " violent fear? Do not you know that " they who are oppress'd by the sword, " which is reckon'd the severest correction, " will recur again to arms against the same " enemy; but those that they are thorough-" ly afraid of, they are not able fo much " as to look at, when they do confer with " them?" "Do you fay, faid he, that " fear is a heavier punishment upon men " than real misfortune?" "You know " yourself, said he that what I say is true; "You know, that they who are in fear of " being banish'd their country, or that " are in dread of being beaten, in an en-" gagement approaching, are in a most de-" jected condition. They that are at sea, " and Aa2

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " and that dread shipwreck, and they that " fear fervitude and chains, are neither able " to eat or fleep for their fear; but they " who are already under banishment, who are " already conquer'd and already flaves, are often in a condition to eat and fleep bet-" ter than the fortunate themselves. And " how great a burthen fear is, is yet more " evident by this, that some in dread that " death would follow their captivity, have " died before hand by means of that dread, " fome throwing themselves headlong, some " hanging themselves, and some dying by " the fword. So that of all things terri-" ble, fear strikes deepest into the minds of " men. In what state of mind then, said " he, do you take my father to be? He " who fears not only for his own liberty, " but for mine, for that of his wife, and " that of all his children?" ——Then Cyrus faid, " It does not feem at all impro-" bable to me that your father is at this " time affected in this manner; but it be-" longs to the fame man to be infolent and " injurious in prosperity, and when broken " in his fortune to be dejected and funk, " and when re-establish'd in his affairs, to " become infolent again, and again to cre-" ate disturbance." " Truly Cyrus, said " he our transgressions give you cause to " distrust us. But you are at liberty to build fortresses, to keep possession of our " places Book III. Institution of Cyrus. " places of strength, and to take whatever " other pledge you pleafe; and yet, faid " he, you will not find us very uneasy un-" der these sufferings; for we shall remem-" ber that we ourselves were the cause of "them. But if by giving up our govern-" ment to any of those, who are free from " guilt, you appear diftrustful of us look " to it, least at the same time that you " shall be a benefactor to them, they shall "think you no friend. And if in caution " against their enmity, you do not impose " a yoke upon them to prevent their inju-" ries, look to it, that you come not under " a greater necessity of reducing them to be " confiderate and humble, than you are now " under of acting that part towards us." " By the gods! faid he, it is methinks with " displeasure, that I make use of such fer-" vants as I know ferve me by necessity " and force; but those that I judge to act " their parts in concert with me, out of " friendship and good will, these, I think, " I can more eafily bear with when they " transgress, than with those that hate me, " and who by force discharge their duty " the most compleatly." Tygranes to this " faid, And with whom can you acquire " fo great a friendship, as you may with " us?" "With those, as I take it, who · have never been fo much at enmity with " us, provided I should be that friend and " beneL

190 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " benefactor to them, that you now de-" fire me to be to you." — " And can you " possibly find Gyrus, said he, at this time, " any one whom it is in your power to gra-" tify in fo high a degree as you may my " father? First, said he, if you grant their " lives to those who never did you any in-" jury, what thanks will they pay you for " it think you? If you leave a man his " wife and children, who can have greater " friendship for you upon this score, than " he who thinks they may be justly taken " from him? Do you know any one that " will be more afflicted than ourselves, if " the kingdom of Armenia be not given " them? ——And it is evident that he who " is most afflicted that he is not king, when " he receives the regal power, will be the " most grateful to you for it. And in case, " faid he, you are any ways concerned that "things should be left here in the least " confusion and disorder, when you quit " us, confider whether things are likely to " be upon a quieter foot under a new go-" vernment, than if the old-accustom'd " government continue. If it be of any " concern to you, to draw from hence the " greatest number of forces possible, who " do you think will levy them better, than " he who has often made use of them? " And if you want money, who do you " reckon, will better raise it than he who " knows

Book III. Institution of Cyrus. 191 "knows all, and is in possession of all?

" Good Cyrus! said he, be careful, least

" by rejecting us, you do yourfelf more

" mischief, than my father has been able

" to do you." To this effect he fpoke.

AND Cyrus was extreamly pleased to hear him, thinking that he should be able to effect all that he had promised Cyaxares to do; for he remember'd to have told him, that he thought he should make the Armenian yet more his friend than before. Upon this then he enquired thus of the Armenian: And if I comply with you in these " things, tell me, faid he, what force will " you fend with me? and what money will " you contribute to the war" To this the " Armenian said; Cyrus! said he, I have " no reply to make more plain or more just, " than to expose to you, all the forces I " have, that viewing the whole, you may " take with you whatever you will, and " leave what you will for the guard of the " country. In like manner, with respect " to our riches, it is but just that I should " discover to you all that I have, that be-" ing apprized of all, you may carry off " what you will of it, and leave what you " please of it." Then Cyrus said; Pro-" ceed then, and shew me what forces you

" have, and tell me what your riches as mount to." Here the Armenian replied;

" The

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " The horse of the Armenians are eight " thousand; and their foot forty thousand. " Our riches, including the treasure my " father left, and reckoned in money, a-" mount to more than three thousand ta-" lents." Then Cyrus without hesitation said; " Since therefore, faid he, the Chaldeans "that border upon you are at war with " you, fend with me half of your forces; " and of your treasure, instead of fifty ta-" lents which was the tribute you were to " pay, give Cyaxares double that fum, for " your defect in the payment. Then lend " me, faid he, a hundred more; and I " promise you, that, if God enable me! "I will, in return of what you lend me, " either do you fuch fervices as shall be of " greater value, or, if I am not able, will " count you down the money again; if I " am not able to do it, I may then appear " unable; but unjust I cannot be justly ac-" counted." Then the Armenian faid, "I " conjure you by the gods! Cyrus! not to " talk in that manner; if you do, you " will afflict me; but rather reckon, faid " he, that what you leave behind is not " lefs yours than what you carry off with " you." " Be it fo, faid Cyrus, -- But " to have your wife again, what money " will you give me?" " All that I am " able, faid he." What for your children?" " And for these too, said he, all that I am " able."

Book III. Institution of Cyrus. " able." " Here is then, faid Cyrus, al-" ready as much gain as you have."____ " And you Tygranes, said he, at what rate " would you purchase the regaining of " your wife?" Now he happened to be but lately married, and had a very great love for his wife. "Cyrus, faid he, to fave her " from fervitude, I would ranfom her at "the expence of my life." "Take then " your own to yourfelf, faid he, I cannot " reckon that she is properly our captive; " for you never fled from us. And do you, " Armenian, take your wife and children, " without paying any thing for them, that " they may know they come free to you." --- "And now, faid he, pray take a fup-" per with us; and when that is over, go " your ways wherever you pleafe." So they stay'd.

While they were together in the tent, Cyrus enquired thus, "Tell me, faid he, "Tygranes, where is that man that used to "hunt with us, and that you seemed much "to admire?" "Oh! faid he, and has "not this father of mine put him to death!" "And what crime did he discover him committing?" "He said that "he corrupted me: and yet Cyrus, so good and so excellent a man he was! that when he was going to die, he sent for me, and told me, —Tygranes, said he, do not B b "you

194 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

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" you bear ill will to your father for putting " me to death; for he does it not out of ma-" lice, but out of ignorance. And whatever " errors men fall into by ignorance, I reckon " all fuch involuntary." - Cyrus upon this faid, " Alas good man!" - The Armenian then spoke thus; "They, Cyrus, who find " strangers engaged in familiar commerce " with their wives, do not put them to " death, and charge them as endeavouring " to make their wives more discreet and " modest; but they are of opinion, that " these men destroy that affection and love " their wives have for them, and for this " reason they treat them as enemies. And " I, faid he, bore hatred and ill will to this " man, because I thought he made my son " respect and admire him, more than my-" felf." Cyrus then said; "By the gods! " faid he. Armenian, I think you faulty, " but in fuch a manner as human nature " is often liable to be. And do you Ty-" granes, forgive your father."—Having at that time discours'd in this manner, and having treated each other with great kindness and friendship, as is natural upon a reconciliation, they mounted their chariots in company with the women, and drove away well pleased.

When they came home, one talked of Cyrus's wisdom, another of his patience and reso-

Book III. Institution of CYRUS. 195
resolution, another of his mildness: one
spoke of his beauty, and the tallness of his
person; and upon that Tygranes asked his
wise; "And do you, said he, Armenian
"dame! think Cyrus handsome?" "Truly,
"faid she, I did not look at him:" "At
"whom then did you look, said Tygranes?"
"At him who said, that to save me from
"servitude he would ransom me at the expence
"of his own life." And after some entertainment of this kind as was usual, they
went together to rest.

THE next day the Armenians fent prefents of friendship to Cyrus, and to the whole army; he fent orders to those of his people that were to ferve in this expedition, to attend on the third day; and he paid down double the fum of money that Gyrus had mentioned. Cyrus, accepting the fum he had expressed, sent the rest back, and asked, "Which of them would command " " the army? whether his fon or himself?" They both spoke together, and the father faid, "Either of us that you shall order." The fon faid, "I affure you Cyrus! that " I will not leave you, though I ferve in " the army as a porter:" Cyrus laughing at this, faid, "What would one give, faid " he, that your wife heard you were to " carry baggage?" " There's no need, faid " he, that she should hear, for I will car-B b 2

"ry her with me, and by that means she may see what I do." "But it is sull time, said he, that you had all things ready to attend us." "Count upon it, faid he, that we will be present at the time with all things ready that my father affords us." When the soldiers had been all thus entertained and treated as friends, they went to rest.

THE next day Cyrus, taking Tygranes with him, and the best of the Median horse, together with as many of his own friends as he thought proper, marched round viewing the country; and examining where to build a fortress. When they came to a certain eminence, he asked Tygranes, "Which " were the mountains from whence the " Chaldwans made their incursions to plunder the country?" Tygranes shewed them to him. He then enquired again, " And " are these mountains entirely desert?" 66 No truly, faid he, but they have always " certain fcouts there, who give notice to "the rest, of whatever they observe." " And what do they do, faid he, when " they have this notice?" " They all then " run to the eminencies to defend them-" felves, every one as fast as he can." Cyrus gave attention to these things; and viewing around, he observed a great part of the Armenian territory, to be defert and uncultivated Book III. Inflitution of Cyrus. 197 tivated by reason of the war. They then retired to the camp, and taking their supper went to rest.

THE next day Tygranes, with all things ready provided, joined him; having four thousand horse, ten thousand archers, and as many targeteers with him. Cyrus, at the time they joined him made a facrifice. When the victims appeared to portend things fortunate and happy, he fummoned the leaders of the Perfians and Medes; and when they were together he spoke to them to this effect. "Friends! those mountains " that we see, belong to the Chaldwans; If " we can feize them, and have a fortress " upon the fummit, both Armenians and " Chældæans will be obliged to act with " modesty and submission towards us. Our " facrifice promifes us fuccefs; and in the " execution of a defign, nothing favours " the inclinations of men so much as dif-" patch; If we prevent the enemy, and " gain the mountains before they assemble, " we may either take the fummit entirely " without a blow, or shall have but a few " and weak enemies to deal with. Of all " labours, therefore, there's none more " easy nor more free from danger, than " resolutely to bear the fatigue of dispatch. " Haste then to arms! and do you, Medes! " march upon our left; and of you, Armemans! 198 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " nians! let half march upon our right,

" and the other half lead on in front be-

" fore us; and do you, the horse! follow in the rear, exhorting us and pushing us

" up before you; and if any one acts re-

" missly, do not you suffer him to do so."

CYRUS, having faid this, lead on; drawing the feveral companies into fingle files. The Chaldwans, as foon as they perceived that their heights were going to be attacked, gave their fignal to their people, hollowed out to each other, and ran together. Cyrus then gave out orders in this manner; " Men of Persia! they give us " the fignal of dispatch; if we prevent " them in gaining the heights, the efforts " of the enemy will be of no fignificance." The Chaldwans had every one their shield, and two javelins; they are faid to be the most warlike people of all in that part of the world: where they are wanted, they ferve for hire; being a warlike people and poor; for their country is mountainous, and but little of it fertile and rich. As Cyrus's men approached the heights, Tygranes marching with Cyrus, spoke to him thus. " Cyrus! faid he, do you know that we " must prefently come to action, and that " the Armenians will not stand the attack of the enemy?" Cyrus, telling him that he knew it, made it presently be declared

to

to the Persians, that they should hold themfelves in readiness, as being immediately to fall on; and to purfue as foon as the flying Armenians drew the enemy down so as to be near them. So the Armenians lead The Chaideans who were upon the place, immediately upon the approach of the Armenians, fet up a cry, and according to their custom ran upon them; the Armenians according to their custom did not stand them. When the pursuing Chaldwans saw fwordsmen fronting them and marching up, they fome of them, came up close and were presently killed, some fled, and some were taken, and the heights were immediately gained. As foon as Cyrus's men had gained the heights, they faw the habitations of the Chaldwans, and perceived them flying from such of those habitations as were near. Cyrus, as foon as the army was got together, ordered them to dinner. When dinner was over having got information of the places, where the Chaldeans planted their watch, he undertook the building of a fortrefs that was very ftrong, and well fupplied with water. He ordered Tygranes to fend to his father, and bid him come away with all the carpenters and builders he could get; the messenger went his way to the Armenian; Cyrus applied himself to the building with all the workmen he had at that time with him.

MEAN while they brought Cyrus the prifoners, fome bound and fome wounded. As foon as he faw them he ordered those that were bound to be loofed; and fending for the physicians he order'd them to take care of the wounded. He then told the Chaldaans that he was not come either with a defire to destroy them, or with inclination to make war upon them; but with intention to make peace between the Armenians and Chaldwans. "Before we got possession " of your mountains, I know you had no " defire of peace: your own concerns were " in fafety; the effects of the Armenians " you plundered at your pleasure. But " now you fee the condition you are in. "Those of you therefore that have been " taken, I dismiss to your homes, and al-' low you, together with the rest of the Chal-" dæans, to confult amongst yourselves, " whether you incline to make war with " us, or to be our friends: if war be your " choice, come no more hither without " arms, if you are wife; if you think " peace for your turn, come without arms. " And if you are friends it shall be my " care, that your affairs shall be established " upon the best foot." The Chaldwans having heard these things, after many praises bestowed upon Cyrus, and many affurances of friendship and trust given him, went home.

THE Armenian, as foon as he heard what Cyrus had done, and the request he had made him, took carpenters with him and all things else, that he thought necessary, and came to Cyrus with all possible dispatch. As foon as he faw Cyrus he faid to him. " O Cyrus! how few things in futurity " are men able to foresee! and how many " projects do we undertake! I have en-" deavoured upon this occasion to obtain " liberty; and I became more a flave than " ever: and after having been made cap-" tive, and thinking our destruction cer-" tain, we now again appear to be in a con-" dition of greater fafety and fecurity than " ever. For these men never ceased doing " us all manner of mischief; and I now " find them just in the condition I wished. " And be it known to you, faid he, Cyrus! " that to have so driven the Chaldwans from " these heights, I would have given many " times the money you received from me. " And the fervices you promifed to do us, " when you took the money, you have " now fo fully performed, that we appear " to be brought under new obligations to " you, which, if we are not very ill men, " we shall be ashamed not to discharge; " and whatever returns we make, we shall " not be found to have done fo much as " fuch a benefactor deferves." Thus spoke the Armenian.

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202 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

THE Chaldwans came back begging of Cyrus to make peace with them. Then Cyrus asked them; " Chaldaans, said he, is " it upon any other confideration that you " defire peace, or is it only because you " think you shall live with more security " in peace, than if you continue the war, " fince we ourselves told you so?" "We " have other confiderations, faid the Chal-" dæans." " And what, faid he, if there " are still other advantages that may accrue " to you by peace?" "We shall be still " the more pleased," said they. -- " Do " you think therefore, faid he, that your " being a poor and needy people, is caufed " by any thing else but by the want of " good land?" They agreed with him in this. "Well then! faid Cyrus, would you " willingly be at liberty to cultivate as much " of the Armenian territory as you pleafed; " paying the same for it that the Arme-" nians do?" "Yes, said they, if we " cou'd be fecure that we should not be in-" jured" " What fay you then Arme-" nian, faid he, would you be willing to " have your wafte land cultivated upon " terms that the farmers of it shall pay you " the fettled dues?" The Armenian faid, " He would give a great deal to have it so; " for his revenue would be much improv-" ed by it. And you, faid he, Chalaceans, " fince you have mountains that are fertile, " would

Book III. Institution of CYRUS. " would you consent that the Armenians " should use them for pasture, upon con-"dition that they who make use of them, ": shall pay what is just and reasonable?" " The Chaldaans faid, " That they would; " for it would be a confiderable profit to "them without any labour." "And you " Armenian, said he, would you make use of "the pastures of these men, if, by allow-" ing a small profit to the Chaldwans, you " might make a much greater profit by it " yourfelves?" "Readily, faid he, if I thought " I might do it fecurely." " And fecurely " you might do it, said he, if the summits " were in the hands of your friends." The Armenian agreed. "But truly, faid the " Chaldwans, we should not be able to cul-" tivate fecurely, neither the lands of thefe " people, nor our own, it they are in pof-" fession of the summits." "But suppose, " faid he, the fummits are possessed by fuch as are friends to you." "Thus in-" deed, faid they, things might do very " well." " But indeed, faid the Armenian, " things will not be well with us, if thefe " men come to be again possessed of the " fummits; especially when they are for-" tified." - Then Cyrus faid, " Thus " therefore I will do; I will give up the " fummits to neither of you, but we will " keep them ourselves: and if either of " you injure the other, we will take part ss with Cc 2

204 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " with the injured." When they heard this, they both of them gave their applause, and faid, "Thus only can the peace be " firm and stable." - Upon this they gave and receiv'd mutually affurances of friendship and trust, and stipulated to be both of them free and independent of each other, to inter-marry, to cultivate, and feed each others lands reciprocally, and to be common allies and supports to each other against whosoever should injure either of Thus were these matters then transthem. acted. And these agreements then made betwen the Chaldwans and the possessor of Armenia subsist still to this day. When the agreements were made, they both prefently applied themselves with zeal to the building of this fortress as a common guard; and they jointly furnished all things necessary towards it.

When evening came on, he took both parties to sup with him, as being now friends. As they were at supper, one of the Chaldwans said, "That these things were such as all the rest of them wished for; but that there were some of the Chaldwans who lived by plunder, and who neither knew how to apply themselves to work; nor were able to do it, seeing accustomed to live by war. For they were always employed upon plunger,

"der, or hired out upon some service; fre"quently to the king of the Indians, for he
"is one, said they, that abounds in gold;
"and frequently to Astyages." Then Cyrus
said, "And why don't they engage them"selves to me? for I will give them as
"much as any other ever gave." They
consented, and said, "That there would
be a great many that would willingly
"engage in his service." These things
were accordingly agreed.

CYRUS, as foon as he heard that the Chaldwans frequently went to ferve under the Indian, and remembering that there were certain persons that came from him to the Medes to apprize themselves of the Median affairs, and went thence to the enemy to get an infight likewife into their affairs; he was defirous that the *Indian* should be informed of what he had done. He therefore began a discourse to this effect; "Tell " me, said he, Armenian, and you Chalda-" ans, if I should fend one of my people " to the Indian, would you fend with him " fome of yours who should direct him in " his way, and act in concert with him, to " obtain from the Indian the things that I " defire? for I would procure some further " addition to my treasure, that I may have " what will fully fuffice, to discharge the " pay of those to whom it becomes due, " and

206 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " and to honour and reward fuch of my " fellow-foldiers as are deferving. Upon " these accounts I would have plenty of " treasure; I think I want it; and to spare " you would be a pleasure to me; (for I " now reckon you our friends.) But from " the Indian I would gladly accept of some-" thing if he would give it me. The mef-" fenger therefore that I defire you to give " guides and affiftants to, when he gets " thither shall say thus.—Prince of India! " Cyrus has fent me to you; he fays that he " is in want of money, expecting another " army from Persia; (and in reality I do " expect it, said he;) If you send him " therefore as much as you can conveniently, he assures you that, if God gives " a happy iffue to his affairs, he will do " his endeavours to make you think that " you have taken a happy step in gratify-" ing him.—This he shall say from me. " Do you on the other fide fend him word " by your people, that you think it will " be of advantage to you. And if we get " any thing from him, faid he, we shall " have all things in greater plenty; if we " get nothing, we shall know that we owe " him no thanks, and that as to him we shall " be at liberty to regulate all our affairs as " best suits our own interests." — Thus faid Cyrus, counting upon it that those of the Armenians and Chaldaans, that went upon Book III. Institution of Cyrus. 207 upon this message, would say such things of him, as he himself desired all men should say and hear concerning him. Then at the proper time they broke up the company in the tent, and went to rest.

THE next day, Cyrus fent away his meffenger, charging him with all that he had before expressed. The Armenian and the Chaldwans sent with him such men as they judged most proper to act in concert with him, and to relate such things concerning Cyrus as were just and worthy of him.

AFTER this, Cyrus having supplied the fortress with a sufficient garrison, and with all things necessary, and leaving as governor a certain Mede, one that he judged would be most agreeable to Cyaxares, marched away; taking with him both the army that he came with, and that which he had from the Armenians, as well as the men he had from the Chaldwans who amounted to about four thousand, and thought themselves better than all the rest.

When he came down into the inhabited country, not one of the Armenians, neither man nor woman kept within doors; but all went out and met him, being overjoyed at the peace, and running out with whatever they had of greatest value. The Armenian

menian

208 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III menian was not at all uneasy at these things: thinking that Cyrus by means of the honours that were thus paid him by all, would be the better pleased. At last likewise the wife of the Armenian met him, having her daughters with her and her younger fon; and together with other prefents, she brought that treasure that Cyrus had before refused. Cyrus when he faw her, faid "Ye shall not make me fuch a fort of a man as to " run up and down the world bestowing " my fervices for money! Go your ways, " woman, and keep all this treasure that " you bring, and do not give it to the Ar-" menian again to bury: but equip your " fon with it in the han slomest manner, " and fend him to the war; and out of the " remainder, fupply yourfelf, your huf-" band, your daughters, and your fons, " with every thing whether for use or or-" nament, that may make you pass your " days in the most agreeable and handsome " manner; let it suffice us to lay our bodies under ground, every one of us when " we die." - Having faid this, he marched on; the Armenian attended upon him, as all the rest likewise did; calling him aloud, "Their benefactor and an excellent man!" Thus they did, till they had conducted him out of their territory. The Armenian sent a greater force with him, being now at peace at home. So Cyrus went away not only enrichenriched with the treasure he had received, but by means of his conduct he had laid up a much greater store, and could supply himself whenever he wanted. They then encamped upon the borders. The next day, he sent the army and treasure to Cyaxares, who was at hand as he had said he would be. He with Tygranes, and the principal Persians hunted where they met with game, and diverted themselves.

When he came into Media, he distributed money to his centurions; as much as he thought fufficient for each of them, and that they might have wherewithal to reward fuch of their men under them, as they might happen to be particularly pleafed with. For he thought that if every one render'd his part of the army praise-worthy, the whole would be fet right to his hands. And if he any where observed any thing that might contribute to the beauty of the army, he purchased it, and gave it to the most deserving; reckoning that whatever his men were possessed of, that was beautiful and noble, it was all an ornament to himself.

When he had made a distribution a-mongst them out of what he had received, then, in an assembly of centurions, captains, and all others that he particularly D d esteem'd,

CYROPEDIA: Or, Book III. esteem'd, he spoke to this effect. "Friends! " a particular pleasure and satisfaction seems " now to attend us, both because we have plenty; and that we are in possession of " what enables us to bestow rewards where " we defire, and to be rewarded every one " according to his merit. But then we " ought by all means to remember what " the things are that have procured us " these advantages; and upon examination, " you will find them to be these. Our be-" ing watchful upon the proper occasions, " our being laborious, our dispatch, and " our not giving way to the enemy. It is " our part therefore to continue thus brave " men for the future; determining with " ourselves, that obedience and resolution, " labours, and hazard upon the proper oc-" cafions, are things that produce great " pleasures and great advantages."

But Cyrus confidering how well the bodies of his men stood with respect to their being able to undergo all military labours; how well their minds were disposed with respect to contempt of the enemy; how skilful they were in all things fitting, each in their several sorts of arms; and he saw that they were all well disposed with respect to obedience to their commanders; from all this therefore he now desired to come to action with the enemy: knowing that by delay delay fome part or other of a noble preparation comes to change and fail in the commander's hands. And befides observing that from a contention in things wherein men are ambitious to exceed, the foldiers had contracted envy and ill-will to each other; he was for this reason desirous to lead them as foon as possible out into the enemy's country; knowing that common dangers make friends; and fellow-combatants keep in a friendly disposition one towards another; and that in this circumstance they neither envy those that are finely armed, nor those that are ambitious of glory; but that even such men themselves rather applaud and esteem others that are like them, accounting them their fellowlabourers in the publick fervice. So in the first place, he compleatly armed them all; and formed them into the best and most beautiful order that was possible. He then fummoned the commanders of ten thoufands, the commanders of thousands, the centurions and captains; (for these were exempt from being reckoned of the number of those that constituted the military rank. And when they were to execute any orders from the commander in chief, or to transmit any particular directions to others; yet thus there was nothing left confused and without rule; but the remainder of the men were preserved in order by Dd 2

212 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

When the proper perfons were affembled, he conducted them about with him, and shewed them all that was right and in proper order; and taught them in what confisted the strength of every ally. And when he had raised in these men a desire of doing something, he bid them go to their several distinct bodies, teach them what he had taught themselves, and endeavour to inspire them all with a desire of action; that they might set forward with all possible ardour. And he bid them, in the morning, attend at Cyaxares's doors. They then retired, and did as they were ordered.

THE next morning as foon as it was day, the proper persons attended at the doors; and Cyrus, entering in with them to Cyaxares, began a discourse to this effect. " know, Cyaxares! faid he, that what I " am going to fay is not less your opinion " than it is our own; but perhaps you " may be unwilling to express it; least you " should feem to put us in mind of march-" ing away, as if the maintaining us were " burthensome and uneasy to you. There-" fore fince you are filent, I will fpeak both " for you and for ourselves.—Since we are " prepared and ready, it is the opinion of " us all not to delay engaging the enemy till after they have broken in upon your " country;

Institution of Cyrus. Book III. " country; and not to fit down and wait " here in the territory of our friends; but " to march with all possible dispatch into "the enemy's country. For now that we " are here in your territory, we are forced " against our wills to injure you many " ways. But if we march into the enemy's " country, we shall with pleasure do them " mischief. Then it is you that now main-" tain us, and at a great expence. If we " carry the war abroad, we shall be main-" tained upon the enemy's country. But " then indeed if our danger was to be great-" er there than it is here, perhaps the fafest " courfe should be taken; but they will be " the same men, whether we wait here for " them, or march into their own country " and meet them. And we shall be the same, " whether we receive them here as they " come upon us, or march up to them and " attack them. But we shall have the " minds of our men in better condition, " and more animated, if we march to the " enemy, and feem not to get fight of them " against our wills. They will have a much " greater terror of us, when they shall

" and terrified with them; but that as foon as we perceive them advancing, we march and meet them, in order to close with them as foon as possible; and that we do not wait till our own country is

" hear that we do not fit at home in dread,

" distress'd

214 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " diffres'd by them; but that we prevent " them and lay their lands waste. And " then, faid he, if we strike terror into "them, and raise courage in ourselves; I " take this to be a very great advantage to Thus I reckon the danger to be " much less to us, and much greater to the " enemy. And my father always fays, you " yourself fay, and all others agree, that " battles are decided rather by the courage " and spirits of men, than by the strength " of their bodies." --- Thus he spoke, and Cyaxares replied.— "O Cyrus! and you the " rest of the Persians! Do not imagine that " the maintaining you is burthensome and " uneafy to me. But indeed the marching " into the enemy's country feems now to " me to be the better course." " Since " therefore, faid Cyrus, we agree in opi-" nion, let us make all things ready; and " if our facred rites fignify the approba-" tion of the gods, let us depart as foon " as possible."

Upon this giving orders to the foldiers to make all things ready, Cyrus made a facrifice; first to Regal Jove, then to the other Deities; and pray'd, that they would vouchsafe to be conductors to the army, good and gracious assistants and friends, and direct them in all happy courses! He invoked likewise the Heroes inhabitants

Book III. Institution of Cyrus. 215 and guardians of the land of MEDIA. When he had facrificed happily, and the whole army was formed upon the borders, meeting with happy auguries he fell into the enemy's country. As foon as he had paffed the borders, he performed propitiatory rites to the Earth by libations, and to the Gods by facrifice; and implored the favour of the Heroes inhabitants of ASSYRIA. And having done this, he again facrificed to Paternal Jove; and whatever other Deity occurred to him, he neglected none.

WHEN these things were duly performed, making the foot advance at a fmall distance forward they encamped; and making excursions around with the horse, they furnished themselves with great quantities of all kinds of booty. Then changing their encampments, and being provided with all things necessary in abundance, and laying the country waste, they waited for the enemy. When they were faid to be advancing, and not to be at the distance of above two days march; then Cyrus faid, "Now, Cy-" axares! is the time for us to march and " meet them; and not to appear either to " the enemy, or to our own people, afraid " of advancing against them. But let us make it evident that we do not come to a " battle with them against our wills." ---When Cyaxares had agreed, they advanced towards

216 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

towards the enemy, keeping always in order; and marching each day as far as they thought it proper, they took their fupper by day-light; and made no fires in their camp by night; but made them before the front of the camp, that by means of these fires they might perceive if any people approached in the night, and might not be feen themfelves by the approachers: and they frequently made their fires behind the camp, in order to deceive the enemy; fo that the enemy's people that were fent out for intelligence, fometimes fell in with the advanced guards, thinking themselves to be still at a distance from the camp, because the fires were behind.

THE Affyrians then, and those that attended them, as foon as the armies were near to each other, threw up an entrenchment round themselves; a thing that the Barbarian kings practife to this day, when they encamp; and they do it with ease by means of their multitude of hands. they know that an army of horse in the night, is confused and unweildy; especially if they are barbarian. For they have their horses tied down to their mangers; and if they are attacked it is troublesome in the night to loose the horses; to bridle them, and to put them on their breaft-plates and other furniture; and when they have mountBook III. Institution of Cyrus. 217 mounted their horses, it is absolutely impossible to march them through the camp. Upon all these accounts, both they and others of them throw up an entrenchment round themselves; and they imagine that their being entrenched puts it in their power as long as they please to avoid fighting. And, thus doing, they approached each other.

When they were advanced to about the distance of a parasang, the Asyrians encamped in the manner before expressed, in a post entrenched, but exposed to view; Cyrus in a place the most concealed that was possible, with villages and rising grounds before him reckoning that all things hostile that discover themselves on a sudden, are the more terrible to the opposite party. And both parties that night posting advanced guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE next day the Assorian, and Crassus, and the other leaders, gave their armies rest in their strong camp. Cyrus and Cyaxares waited in order of battle, as intending to sight if the enemy advanced. When it appeared that the enemy would not stir out of their entrenchment, nor come to a battle that day; Cyaxares summoned Cyrus, and all the other proper persons to him; and spoke to this effect. ——" It is my E e "opinion.

218 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. " opinion, friend! faid he, that we should " march, in the order we are in, up to " the entrenchment of these men, and shew "them that we are defirous to come to a " battle; for by this means, faid he, if " they do not come out to us, our men " will act with the more courage against " them; and the enemy, observing our " boldness, will be the more terrified." -This was his opinion. But Cyrus faid, "By " the gods! Cyaxares! We must by no means act in this manner; for if we " now discover ourselves, and march as " you defire, the enemy will fee us ad-" vancing towards them, and will be in " no manner of fear of us, knowing them-" felves to be in a situation secure from any danger; and after having made this " march, when we shall retreat, then again, feeing our numbers much inferior " to theirs, they will have a contempt for " us; and to-morrow will march out with " minds more firm and resolute. But now, " faid he, that they know we are at hand, " without feeing us; be affured they do " not contemn us, but are folicitous to " know how things stand; and are, I " know very well, continually taken up

" in debating about us. But when they "march out, then ought we at once to make our appearance, march instantly and close with them; taking them at

" ed."—— Cyrus having spoke thus; Cy-axares and the rest agreed in opinion with him. Then having taken their suppers, placed their guards and made many fires in front before those guards, they went to rest.

THE next day early in the morning, Cyrus, with a crown upon his head made a facrifice; and ordered the rest of the alikehonoured to attend the holy rites with crowns. When the facrifice was over, Cyrus called them together and faid.—" The "Gods, friends! as the diviners fay, and " as I myfelf think, do foretel that there " will be a battle They give us victory " and promife us fafety by the victims.— " I ought perhaps to be ashamed to direct " what fort of men you ought to shew " yourselves upon such an occasion; for I "know you understand those things as " well as I do; that you have practifed " and learnt, and continue to learn all the " fame things that I have done, fo that " you may justly instruct others in them: " but if perhaps you may not have taken " exact notice of them, pray hear.-" Those men that we have lately admitted " as our fellow-combatants, and have en-" deavoured to make like ourselves, it is " your part to put them in mind for what " purposes we are all maintained by Cyang-Ee 2

220 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

" res, what the things are that we practife, " and have invited them to, and wherein, " they faid, they would joyfully be our ri-" vals. And put them in mind likewise of " this, that this day will flew what every " one deferves. For in things where men " have been late learners, it is no wonder " that some of them have need of a moni-" tor. One ought to be contented if they " can make themselves good and useful " men upon admonition. Then in doing " this you will make trial of yourfelves. " For he that upon fuch an occasion is able " to make others better men, must be just-" ly conscious of being himself compleatly " good. But he who bears these things in " mind to himself only, and rests satisfied " with that, should in justice account him-" felf but half compleat. The reason why "I do not speak to these men myself, but " bid you do it, is because they may en-" deavour to please you; for you are im-" mediately convertant with them, every " one of you in his particular part. And " be affured that while you shew yourselves, " to be in courage and heart, you will " teach courage to these men and to many more, not by words but by deed." -In conclusion he bid them go crown'd as they were to their dinners; and when they had performed their libations, to come crown'd to their ranks. WHEN

WHEN these men were gone, he summoned the rear-leaders to him, and spoke to them to this effect. "You likewise, men " of Perha, are become part of the alike-" honoured; and have been chosen as men "who appear to be equal in all other re-" fpects to the bravest, but by your age to " excel in discretion. You have therefore " a station assigned you which is not less " honourable than that of the file-leaders. " For being placed in the rear, and observ-"ing the brave, and encouraging them, " you make them still the better men; and " if any one acts remitsly, you do not fuf-" fer him to do fo. If victory be of ad-" vantage to any, it is fo to you, both by " reason of your age, and of the weight " of your military habit. If they there-" fore who are before, call out to you and " exhort you to follow, comply with them; " and that you may not be out-done by " them in this, do you exhort them in re-" turn to lead with more dispatch to the " enemy. Go then, faid he, and when " you have taken your dinners, come " crown'd with the rest to your ranks." Cyrus's men were thus employ'd.

THE Assyrians when they had dined, marched boldly out, and formed themselves with a great deal of resolution. The king himself formed them, driving round in his chariot.

222 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III. chariot. And he made them an exhortation in this manner. - " Men of Assyria! " now is the time for you to be brave men! " For now is your trial for your lives, for the country where you were born, for " the houses where you were bred, for your " wives and children, and for all things " valuable that you possess! If you con-" quer, you remain masters of all these " as before. If you are defeated, be af-" fured you give them all up to the " enemy. Therefore as you value victory, " stand firm and fight! For it is a folly " for those that desire conquest, to turn "the blind, unarmed, and harmless parts " of their bodies to the enemy by flight. " He is a fool who for love of life should " attempt flying, when he knows that the conquerors are fafe, and that runaways " meet death more certainly than they who " stand their ground. And he is a fool " who out of love to his money submits to " a defeat; for who is there that does not " know that conquerors fave all that be-" longs to themselves, and acquire besides " all that belongs to the defeated enemy? "But they who are defeated throw both " themselves and all that belongs to them " away." — Thus was the Affyrian employed.

But Cyaxares fending to Cyrus, told him " That now was the opportunity of lead-" ing to the enemy; for, faid he, if there " are yet but few that are got out of the " entrenchment, by that time we arrive "there will be great numbers of them. "Therefore let us not wait, till they are " more numerous than ourfelves; but let " us march, whilft we think we may yet " eafily master them." — Cyrus reply'd; " Unless those, Cyaxares! that we shall de-" feat, amount to above half the number " of the enemy, be affured they will fay "that we are afraid of their numbers, and " therefore attack'd but a few of them. "They will not take themselves to be de-" feated. And it will be necessary for you " to come to another battle, when perhaps "they will contrive better than they do " now; that they give themselves up to us " to parcel out and engage as many of " them as we please." The messengers having heard this went their way.

Upon this came Chrysantas the Persan, and others of the alike-honoured, bringing with them certain deserters. Cyrus, as usual, required from these deserters an account of the enemy. They told him that they were already marching out in arms; that the king was come out and was forming them; and that continually as they marched out,

224 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III he made them many warm and vigorous exhortations, as the hearers, they faid, reported. Here Chryfantas spoke. "Cyrus, " faid he, what therefore if you should call " the foldiers together, while you are yet " at liberty to make them an exhortation, " in order to make them braver and better " men?" — Then Cyrus faid, "O Chry-" Jantas, let not the exhortations of the " Assyrians disturb you; for no exhorta-" tion, whatever, though never fo noble, " can at the instant, make the hearers brave " if they were not so before. Nor can it " make them skilful at the bow unless they " have before practifed it; nor skilful at " the javelin, nor horsemen; nor can it " give them bodies capable of labour, un-" less they have been before enured to it." Chryfantas then faid, "But it is enough if " you can make their minds better by your " exhortation." — " And can a word, " faid Cyrus, spoken at the instant, inspire " the minds of the hearers with a fense of " shame, or hinder them from doing " things mean and base? Can it influence " them effectually to undergo all labours, " and run all hazards to gain praise? Can " it establish this sentiment firmly in their " minds, that to die fighting is rather to " be chosen than to be faved by flying? " And if fuch fentiments, faid he, are to " be instilled into men, and to be made " lasting,

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Institution of Cyrus. Book III. " lasting, ought there not in the first place, " to be fuch laws established whereby a life " with honour and liberty should be pro-" vided for the brave? and fuch a courfe " of life traced out and laid before the vi-" cious, as should be abject and painful, " and not worth living out? Then there " ought to be teachers and governors in " these affairs, who should direct men " right, should teach and accustom them " to practife these things, till they could " determine with themselves, that the brave " and the renown'd are in reality the hap-" piest of all; and to judge that the vici-" ous and the infamous are of all the most " miserable. For thus ought those to " stand affected, who are to make their " institution and discipline over-rule their " fear of the enemy. But if just at the " time that men are marching in arms to " the enemy, when many are hurried out " of all their former learning and know-" ledge, it were in any one's power by put-" ting together a fet form of words, to " make men in the instant soldiers, then " were it the easiest thing in the world " both to learn and to teach the greatest " virtue that belongs to men. Nor could " I be fecure that the men, we now have, " and that have been exercised under us, " would remain firm unless I saw you here " prefent with them, who will be examples

226 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

"to them in their behaviour, and will be able to remind them, if they are at a loss in any thing. I should very much wonder, said he, Chrysantas! if a discourse never so finely spoken should be able to teach bravery to men wholly undisciplined in virtue, any more than a song well fung, could teach musick to such as were wholly uninstructed in it." —— In this manner they discoursed.

AND Cyaxares fent word again to Cyrus that he was much in the wrong to spend time, and not march immediately to the enemy. Cyrus made answer to the messengers; "Let him be affured, faid he, that "there are not yet come out fo many of " them as there ought to be; and tell him " this openly before all: but fince it is his " opinion, I will lead out this instant."-Having faid this, and having made his fupplications to the GODS, he lead the army out. As foon as he began to put forward with more dispatch, he led the way, and they follow'd; and they did it in a very orderly manner, because they understood how to march in order, and had been exercised in it; they did it with vigour and resolution, by means of their emulation to each other, by having enured their bodies to labour, and having all their officers at the head of them; and they did it with pleafure,

pleasure, because they were wife; for they knew and had long fince learn'd, that it was their fafest and easiest course, to close with the enemy; especially when confisting of archers, of men armed with javelins, and of horses. While they were yet out of reach of the enemy's weapons; Cyrus gave out the word, which was this, Jove our affistant and leader! When the word came about to him again, he began the usual bymn, to the youths of Jove, Castor, and Pollux. They all with great devotion accompanied him with a loud voice; for in fuch a circumstance they who fear the deities are less in fear of men. When the hymn was over, the alike-honoured marching with alacrity and perfect good discipline, and at the fame time looked round at each other, calling by their names those that were on each hand of them, and those that were the next behind them, and frequently crying out, --- Come on friends! Come on brave men! —— they exhorted each other to follow. They that were behind hearing this, exhorted the foremost in returning to lead on with vigour and refo-And Cyrus had an army full of fpirit and of ardour, in the pursuit of honour; full of vigour, boldness, mutual exhortation, discretion, and obedience, which I think the most terrible to an enemy.

Ff2

THOSE

228 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III.

THOSE of the Affyrians who fought from their chariots in front before the rest, as foon as the Persian body was near and ready to close in with them, mounted their chariots and retreated to their own body. Their archers and their men armed with the javelin, and their flingers made the difcharge of their weapons a good while before they could reach their enemy. As foon as the *Persians* came up upon these weapons, that had been thus discharged, Cyrus cried aloud,——" Now my brave men! let fome " body diftinguish himself and march " quicker on! and transmit this order to " the rest!"—They accordingly transmitted it. And some out of zeal and ardour, and out of defire to close with the enemy, began to run. The whole Phalanx followed running. Cyrus himself forgetting his flower pace, led them on running; and cried out at the same time, --- "Who fol-" lows! who is brave! who will first prostrate his man!" - They hearing this, cried out in the fame manner; and as he first gave it out, so it ran through them all, who will follow? Who is brave? In this difposition did the Persians close with the enemy.

The enemy were no longer able to stand them, but turned, and fled to the entrenchment; the *Persians* following up to the entrances of the intrenchment, laid many of them them on the ground as they were preffing on upon each other, and leaping in after those that fell into the ditch they killed them both men and horses promiscuously; for some of the chariots of the enemy were forced on in their flight, and fell in amongst the rest. The Median horse, observing these things, charged the enemy's horse; and they gave way before them. Then followed a pursuit both of horses and men, and a mighty flaughter of both. They who were within the Affyrian entrenchment, and were posted at the top of it, by reason of the dreadful spectacle before them and of their terror, had neither ability nor skill to do execution, with their arrows and javelins upon those that were making destruction of their people. And learning prefently after, that some of the Persians had cut their way through, at the entrances of the entrenchment, they turned away and fled from the top of it. The Affyrian women and those of their allies, some of them, such as had children, and some that were of the younger fort, feeing that they already began to fly in the camp, fet up a clamour and run up and down in confernation, rending their cloaths and tearing themselves, and begging of every one they met not to fly and abandon them, but to stand by their children, by them, and by each other. Here their princes themselves with those they chiefly

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book III 230 chiefly confided in, standing at the entrances of the entrenchment, and mounting to the top of it, fought themselves, and encouraged the rest. As soon as Cyrus knew how things stood, being afraid least being but few, they should be but ill-treated by the great multitude of the enemy if they forced their way in, he gave out orders to retreat out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, and required their obedience in fo doing. Here one might distinguish the alike-honoured, and fuch as were formed to due discipline: for they instantly obeyed, and transmitted the orders to the rest. When they were out of the reach of the enemy's weapons, they stood in their feveral stations much more regularly than a fet of dancers; every one knowing with great exactness where he was to be.



CYROPÆDIA:

OR, THE

INSTITUTION

OF

C T R U S.

By X E N O P H O N.

BOOK IV.



fome confiderable time with the army, and having made it appear that they were ready to fight if any would come out against them, since

no body stirred, lead off at the distance he thought proper, and they encamped.

THEN

232 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

THEN having placed his guards, and fent out his fcouts, he placed himself in the midft, and calling his foldiers together he spoke to this effect. — "Men of Persia! do in the first place give all possible " praife to the Gods! I believe you all do " the fame; for we have obtained conquest " and fafety. Out of what we poffefs " therefore it is our duty to make the gods " our prefents of gratitude and thanks in " return of these things. After this I give " praise to you all! For the action that is " paffed has been performed by you all. " When I have made my enquiry from the " proper persons what each man deserves, "I will endeavour both in word and in " deed to pay every man his due. --- With " respect to Chrysantas indeed, who was "the nearest centurion to me, I need not " enquire of others, but I know myfelf " how well he behaved. For he performed all those other acts that I believe you " all did; and when I gave out orders to " retreat, calling upon him particularly by " name; he who had his fword held up to " give his enemy a stroke, obey'd me in " the instant; and forbearing to do what " he was about, performed my command. " For he retreated himself, and transmit-" ted the order with the greatest dispatch So that he got his century " to others. " out of weapon's cast before the enemy " perBook IV. Institution of Cyrus. " perceived that we were retreating; before " they extended their bows or threw their " javelins; fo that he was himself unhurt, " and kept his men unhurt by this obedi-" ence: but there are others, faid he, that I " fee wounded. And when I have examined " at what time it was that they were wound-" ed, I will then declare my opinion con-" cerning them. Chrysantas I now reward " with the command of a thousand, as a " man vigorous in action, prudent, and " able both to obey and command. And " when God shall grant us any farther ad-" vantage, neither will I then forget him. " — And I am defirous too, faid he, to " give you all an advice: that you would " never lofe the remembrance and the " confideration of what you now fee by "this battle; that you may always have it " fettled in your minds whether it is flight, " or virtue rather, that preferves the lives " of men; whether they who readily en-" gage in action come off the better; or "they who are backward and unwilling; " and that you may judge how great a " pleasure it is that victory affords. You " may now the better make a judgment of " thefe things, having had experience of " them, and the affair having been fo late-" ly transacted. And, said he, by having

" the confideration of these things always present in your minds, you will become Gg "the

234 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

" the better men .- Now like discreet and

" worthy men favoured of heaven, take

" your suppers, make your libations to

" the gods, begin your hymn, and be ob-

" fervant of the word of command!"

This faid, he mounted on his horse and rode off. Then coming to Cyaxares, and having congratulated with him as was proper, having seen how things stood there, and having enquired whether Cyaxares had any further need of him, he rode back to his own army. Cyrus's men having taken their suppers, and placed their guards as was proper, went to rest.

THE Assirians upon their prince being killed, and together with him all the bravest of their men, were all in a desponding condition; and many of them sled from the camp in the night. Upon seeing these things, Crassus and their other allies lost all courage, for they were surrounded with difficulties on all sides. And what chiefly sunk the courage of them all, was, that, the principal nation of all that were in the army, were entirely consounded in their opinions. So they quitted the camp and went off in the night.

As foon as it was day, and that the camp appeared to be entirely abandoned,

Cyrus

Cyrus immediately made the Perfians march first into it. Great numbers of sheep and oxen had been left there by the enemy; and many waggons full of abundance of valuable things. After this, the Medes with Cyaxares marched in, and there took their dinners. When they had dined, Cyrus called his centurions together, and spoke to "Friends! how many valuthis effect. " able things have we in my opinion per-" feelly thrown away when the gods had " delivered them into our hands! For " you yourselves see that the enemy are " flying for fear of us. And how can any " body think that they, who, when pof-" fessed of an entrenched post, quitted it " and fled, can stand, and look us in the " face upon fair ground? They who did " not stand before they had made trial of " us, how should such men stand after "they are beaten, and have been fo ill-" treated by us? How should the worst " of those men incline to fight us, of whom " the best have been destroy'd?" Upon this fome body faid; "Why don't we im-" mediately purfue, when the advantages " we have are fo evident?" Cyrus replied, " Why because we want horse. And the " best of the enemy and such as it is most " for our purpose to take or to destroy, are " retiring on horse-back. And those that " (with the help of the gods!) we are able Gg 2

236 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

"to put to flight, we are not able to take in the pursuit." "Why then, said they, do not you go to Cyaxares, and tell him these things." To this he said, "Come therefore, all of you along with me; that he may see we are all of us of this opinion." Upon this they all followed him, and said what they thought was proper concerning the things they defired.

CYAXARES, partly out of a fort of envy because they had begun the discourse upon the subject, and partly perhaps because he thought it best for him not to hazard another battle, (for he was indulging himself in pleasure, and observed that many of the Medes were doing the same thing,) spoke therefore in this manner.——" I am " convinced, Cyrus! by the testimony both " of my eyes and ears, that you Perfians " of all mankind, study the most how to " keep yourselves from being impotent, " and infatiable in any kind of pleafure. "But my opinion is, that it is by much " the most advantageous thing to be mas-" ter of one's felf in the greatest pleasure " of all. And what is there that gives " men greater pleasure than the good for-"tune that has now befallen us? There-" fore fince we have that good fortune, if " we take care to preserve it with discre-" tion and temper, perhaps we may with-" out

Institution of Cyrus. Book IV. " out hazard grow old in happiness. But " if we use it greedily and insatiably, and " endeavour to purfue one piece of good " fortune after another, take care least we " fuffer the same fate, that they say many " people do at fea, who by means of their " having been once fortunate, will never " cease repeating their voyages till they are " loft. And as they fay many do, who " having obtained one victory, and aiming " at more, have loft the first. If indeed " the enemy, who are fled, were fewer " than we, perhaps we might purfue those " with fafety; but confider what part of " them it was that our whole number " fought and conquered; the rest were " out of the action; and unless we force " them to fight, are going their ways mean-" ly and ignorantly, without knowing their " own strength or ours. If they shall find " that they are not less in danger in re-" treating, than they are in standing us, " how can it happen otherwife, than that " we shall force them, even against their " wills, to be brave? For be affured that " you are not more defirous to feize their " wives and children, than they are to pre-" ferve them. And confider even fwine, " that they, though many in number, be-" take themselves to slight, together with "their young, as foon as they are dif-" covered: but if any man pursue one of 238 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

" their little ones, the fow though she be " fingle, does not continue her flight, but " attacks the pursuer that attempts to take Now these men, upon this late oc-" casion, had shut themselves up in an en-" trenchment, and let themselves be par-" celled out by us in fuch a manner as put " it into our power to engage as many of " them as we pleased. But if we march " up to them in an open country, and they " shall have learnt to divide and extend "themselves, so that part of them shall " oppose us in front, part upon one wing, " and part upon another, and fome in our " rear; do you then take care least we " every one of us stand in need of many " more hands and arms than we have. " Besides, said he, now that I observe the " Medes to be enjoying themselves, I should " bevery unwilling to rouse them from their " pleafures, and compel them to throw " themselves into danger."

Then Cyrus in reply faid, — "You fhall compel no one. Do but allow those to follow me that are willing to do it. Perhaps we may come back and bring you and every one of these friends of yours what you will all be pleased with. We will not pursue the main body of the enemy; for how should we be able to lay our hands on them? But if we meet

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. " with any thing straggling from the rest " of the army, or left behind; we will " come and bring it you. Confider then, " faid he, that, when you wanted us, we " came a long journey to do you pleafure. " It were but just therefore, that you should " gratify us in return; that we may go " home possess'd of something, and not all " of us have our eye to your treasures." — Here Cyaxares faid; " If any one indeed " would attend you of his own accord, I " should think myself obliged to you." " Send with me then one of these credible " perfons who shall tell your message." " Come! faid he, take which of them you " please." — And there happen'd to be that person present who had call'd himself his relation, and that he had kis'd. Cyrus therefore immediately faid, " I am con-" tented with this man." "Let him there-" therefore, faid he, attend you; and do " you, faid he, declare, that any one who " is willing, may go with Cyrus." So, taking this man with him, he went out. As foon as he came out, Cyrus presently said to him, " Now you will make it appear whe-" ther you fpoke truth when you faid you " were delighted with the fight of me." "When you propose this matter, said the " Mede, I will not abandon you." " And " will not you, faid Cyrus, yourfelf espouse " it, and propose it to others?" Then, with an oath, "By Jove! faid he, I will!

" and

"and that till I make you delighted with the fight of me!" Then did this messenger of Cyaxares discharge himself with zeal in all respects by declaring his message to the Medes; and added this of himself; "That, "for his part, he would not desert this best and most excellent of men, and what was above all, this man who derived his original from the gods!"

WHILE Cyrus was transacting these affairs, there came messengers from the Hyrcanians, as if by divine appointment. The Hyrcanians are borderers upon the Affyrians; they are no great nation, and therefore subject to the Assyrians; they at that time, it feems, confifted of horse, and do so at this day: The Affyrians therefore used them as the Lacedæmonians do the people of Sciros, not sparing them in fatigues and dangers; and they at that time had commanded them to make the rear-guard, being a thousand horse, that in case any danger pressed upon them in the rear, these men might have it fall upon them before it reached themselves. The Hyrcanians being to march behind all, had their waggons and domesticks in the rear. For most of the inhabitants of Afia are attended in their military expeditions by those that they live with at home. And the Hyrcanians at that time attended the fervice in that manner. Confidering therefore

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. 241 fore with themselves what they suffer'd un-

der the Assyrians; that their prince was now dead, and they beaten; that the army was now under great terror; that their allies were in a desponding condition, and were quitting them; upon these considerations this appeared to them to be a noble opportunity to revolt, if Cyrus's men would but fall upon the enemy in conjunction with them. Accordingly they sent messengers to Cyrus; for since the battle, his same was grown to the greatest height.

THE men that were fent told Cyrus, " That they had a just hatred to the Assy-" rians; that if he would now march up " to them, they themselves would be his " affiftants, and lead him the way." They gave him likewise accounts of the circumstances of the enemy, as men who were extreamly defirous to animate him to this expedition. Then Cyrus asked them, "Do " you think, said he, that we can get up " with them before they get into their for-" treffes? For, faid he, we take it to be a " very great misfortune that they fled with-" out our knowledge." This, he faid, with intention to raise in them the greatest confidence possible in himself and his people. They replied, "That if he and his " men, fetting out early in the morning " marched with expedition, they might " come Hh

242 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

"come up with them even the next day " for by reason of their multitude, and the " number of their carriages, they marched " very flowly. And besides, said they, " having had no rest the night before, they " marched but a little way, and are now " encamped." Then Cyrus faid, "Have " you any pledge therefore to give us of " the truth of what you fay?" "We will " go, faid they, this instant, and bring " you hostages to night. Do you only give " us the fecurity of your taking the gods " to witness on your part, and give us your " right-hand; that what we ourselves thus " receive from you, we may carry to the " rest of our people." Upon this he gave them the testimonials of his faith, that " If they accomplish'd what they faid, " he would treat them as faithful men and " friends; and that they should not be of " less consideration with him than the Per-" fians or Medes." And at this day it may be observed that the Hyrcanians are employed in confiderable trusts; and are pofleis d of governments, as those of the Perfians and Medes are that appear worthy of them.

When they had supp'd, he lead out the army while it was yet day; and he order'd the Hyrcanians to stay, that they might go with him. All the Persians, as one may naturally suppose were immediately out. Ty-

granes likewise with his army was the same. But of the Medes fome marched out because while they were yet boys they had been friends to Cyrus while a boy; fome because by conversing with him in his huntings, they were much taken with his temper and manners; fome out of gratitude because they thought him the man who had relieved them when they were under very great terror; fome, by his appearing already to be a man of great dignity and worth, had hopes that he would ftill grow farther fo as to be prodigiously fortunate and great? fome because they were defirous to return him that friendship and service, that he had done them while he lived among the Medes; for out of his good nature, he had performed feveral fervices with his grandfather for many of them: but most part of them, when they saw the Hyrcanians, and that it was discours'd abroad that they were to lead the way to mighty advantages, marched out in order to get fomething. So almost all the Medes marched, except those that were in the tent with Cyaxares. These remained; and the men that were under their command. The rest haftened out with zeal and pleasure as not going by constraint, but voluntarily, and with defign to oblige. When they were out he went to the Medes. He first commended them, and pray'd, "That the H h 2 "GODS, 244 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. " GODS, being propitious both to them, " to himself, and to his people, would " vouchiafe to conduct them! And then " that he himself might be enabled to make "them grateful returns of this their zeal!" In the last place he told them, that the foot should lead the way, and bid them follow with their horse. —— And wherever they rested, or suspended their march, he order'd them to fend off some people to him, that they might be informed of what was proper upon every occasion. — Upon this, he order'd the Hyrcanians to lead the way; and they asked him this question, "Why, " faid they, don't you ftay till we bring our " hostages, that you may march with the " pledges of our fidelity in your hands?" He is faid to have replied thus; "Why " faid he, I confider that we have all of " us pledges of your fidelity in our own " hearts and hands; for we take ourselves " to be fo well provided that, if you tell " us truth, we are in a condition to do " you fervice; and if you deceive us, we " reckon that we stand upon such a foot " as not to be ourselves in your power, " but rather, if the gods fo please, that " you will be in ours. Since then, faid " he, O Hyrcanians! you fay that your " people march the hindermost, as foon " as you fee them, fignify to us that they " are your people that we may spare them." The — The Hyrcanians hearing these things lead the way as he order'd. They admir'd his firmness of mind, and were no longer in sear either of the Assyrians, the Lydians or their allies; but only, least Cyrus should be convinced that whether they were present or absent they were of little significance.

While they were upon the march and night was come on, a clear light from heaven is faid to have appear'd to Cyrus, and to the army; fo that all were feized with a fhivering at the divine appearance; but inspired with boldness against the enemy. As they marched without incumberance and with difpatch, they probably rid abundance of ground; and at the dawn of day, they were near the Hyrcanian army.——As foon as the messengers discovered them, they told Cyrus that these were their people: "They " faid they knew them by their being the " hindermost and by their multitudes of " fires." Upon this, he fent one of the two messengers to them, ordering to tell them, " If they were friends, immediately " to meet him holding out their right " hands." He fent some of his own people with them, and bid them tell the Hyrcanians, " That when he and his people faw them " advancing, they themselves would do " the fame thing." So one of the messengers staid with Cyrus, the other rode off to the

246 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. the Hyrcanians. While Cyrus was observing what the Hyrcanians would do, he made the army halt; and the chief of the Medes and Tygranes rode up to him and asked him what they were to do? He told them thus, "This body that is near us is " that of the Hyrcanians. One of their " meffengers is going to them, and fome " of our people with him, to tell them, if " they are friends, to meet us with their " right hands held out; therefore if they " come in this manner, do you every one " in your feveral stations receive them with " your right hands as they come, and en-" courage them. If they take to their " arms, or attempt to fly; do you endea-" vour to let none of these that we first " meet with escape." He gave these orders; and the Hyrcanians having heard the report of the messengers, were in great joy; and mounting their horses at a leap, came up as was told them with their right hands extended. The Medes and Persians on their fide received them with their right hands, and encouraged them. Upon this Cyrus faid, "Hyrcanians! we now trust to you! " It is your part to be in the same dispo-" fition towards us! But in the first place, " faid he, tell us this; how far from hence " is the place where the enemy's command-" ers are, and their main body?" They faid in answer, "That it was little more UPON than a parafang."

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. 247 Upon this occasion, Cyrus said; "Come " on then! faid he, men of Persia! Medes! " and you Hyrcanians! for to you I now " fpeak as to confederates and sharers with " us in all things. You ought all now to " be affured, that we are in such a circum-" stance, as must bring upon us the great-" est severities of fortune, if we act in it " remissly and faintly. For the enemy know " for what purposes we come. If we " march to the enemy with vigour and " fpirit, and charge home, you will fee " them, like flaves that have run away " and are discovered, some supplicating for " mercy, fome flying, and fome without " prefence of mind enough to do either. " For, beaten as they are, they will fee us " come upon them, and thinking of our " coming will be furprized, without order, " and without being prepared to fight. If " therefore we defire hence forward to take " our meals, to pass our nights, and to " fpend the rest of our lives with plea-" fure; don't let us give them leifure to " contrive or execute any thing that may " be for their own fervice; nor to know " fo much as that we are men; but let "them fancy that all is shields, swords, " cutlaffes, and blows that falls upon them. " And do you Hyrcanians! faid he, ex-" tending yourselves in front before us, " march first; that by the appearance of " your 248 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.

" your arms, we may keep concealed as " long as possible. When I get up with " the enemy's army, Do you, each of you, " leave with me a troop of horse, that I " may make use of them, in case of need, " remaining in the camp? Do you com-" manders, and your men of most years, " if you are wife, march together in close " order, least meeting perhaps with a close " body, you be repulsed. Send out your " younger men to pursue; let these dis-" patch the enemy; for it is our fafest " course at this time to leave as few of the " enemy alive as we can. But least, what, " has happened to many victors, a turn " of fortune befal us, we ought strictly to " guard against turning to plunder; and " as he that does it can no longer be " reckoned a man, but a meer bearer of " baggage, fo any one that will is free to " use him as a slave. You ought to be " fenfible that there is nothing more gain-" ful than victory; for the victor sweeps " all away with him, both men, women, and treasure, together with the whole " country. Keep your eye therefore in-" tent only upon the prefervation of vic-" tory, for even the plunderer himself is " comprehended in it. And remember this " too in your pursuit, that you return again " to me while it is yet day; for after it is " dark, we will give admittance to none." HAVING

that

HAVING faid this, he dismissed them. every one to his own century, and ordered them withal to go their ways and fignify these things, every one to his chiefs of ten; for the chiefs of tens were all in front, fo as to be able to hear; and he bid them order the chiefs of tens to give these directions, each to his own ten; upon this, the Hyrcanians lead the way; he himself marched with the Persians in the center, and formed the horse as usual upon each wing. As foon as his army appeared, some of the enemy were aftonished at the fight; some already discovered what it was; some told it about; fome fet up a clamour; fome loofed their horfes; fome packed up their effects; some threw the arms from off the beafts of burthen, and some armed themfelves; fome mounted their horses; some bridled them; fome helped the women up upon the waggons; fome laid hold of what they had of greatest value, to save it; and fome were found burying fuch kind of things; but most of them betook themfelves to flight. It must needs be thought that they were taken up with these things, and many more of various kinds; excepting only that no body fought, but that they were deftroy'd without making any oppofition. Crafus the king of the Lydians, it being the fummer feafon, had fent away his women in the night in chariots before,

250 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. that they might travel with the more ease in the cool; and he himself with his horse had followed after. The Phrygian, they fay, who was prince of that Phrygia that lies upon the Hellespont, did the same. But as foon they perceived the runaways, and that fome of them came up with them having got information of what had happened, they fled in the utmost haste. The kings of the Capadocians, and of the Arabians that were at hand, and without their corflets, thinking themselves secure, the Hyrcanians killed. But the greatest number of those that died upon this occasion were Affyrians and Arabs; for being in their own country, they were most remis in marching off. The Medes and Hyrcanians performed fuch things in the purfuit, as are usual for men that have gained the victory. But Cyrus ordered the horse that had been left with him, to ride round the camp, and kill all fuch as they faw going off with their arms; and to those that remained he ordered it to be proclaimed, " That all foldiers of the enemy what-" ever, whether horse-men, targeteers, or " archers, fhould bring their arms, " bound up together, away to him; and " leave their horses at their tents, and " that if any refused to do thus, he should " immediately lofe his head." - Some with their fwords drawn, stood round in order;

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. 251 der; they who had arms brought them away, and threw them down upon the place that he appointed them; and they that he ordered for that service, burnt them.

But Cyrus then reflecting that they were come without either meat or drink; and that without these it was impossible to carry on a war, or do any thing elfe; confidering therefore how he might be supplied with these things the soonest, and in the best manner, it came into his mind that it was absolutely necessary for all men that were engaged in military fervice, to have fome certain person to take care of the tent; and who should provide all things necesfary for the foldiers when they came in. He judged therefore that of all people in the camp these were the most likely to be left behind, because of their being enployed in packing up the baggage: So he ordered proclamation to be made that all the officers of this kind should come to him; and where there was no fuch officer. that the oldest man of that tent should attend; he denounced all manner of feverity to him that should disobey. But they all paid obedience infantly, having feen their masters do it before them. When they were present he commanded all such as had necessaries in their tents for two months and upwards to fit down. When he had ob-I1 2 ferved

252 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. ferved these he again commanded all such as were provided for one month to do the fame. Upon this almost all of them fat. When he found this, he spoke to them thus. " Come then, good people! all those of " you who would avoid evil, and defire " to obtain any good from us! Do you " with readiness and zeal take care, that " in each tent there be prepared double the " portion of meat and drink that you used " to provide each day for your masters " and their domesticks; and have all things " elfe ready that will contribute to furnish " out a handsome entertainment; taking " it for granted that the party conquering " will be prefently with you, and will re-" quire to have all things necessary provid-" ed for them in plenty. Know therefore " that it may be of fervice to you to re-" ceive these men in the most unexception-" able manner." Having heard these things, they executed the orders with the greatest diligence. And having called the centurions together, he spoke to this effect.

" WE know, friends! that it is now in our power to take our dinners first, before our allies who are absent, and to apply the most exquisite meats and drinks to our own use: but in my opinion, this dinner will not do us so much service as our making it appear that we are care-

" ful of our allies. Nor will this good en-" tertainment add more to our own " ftrength, than we shall gain by making " our confederates zealous and hearty in " our interest. If we appear so negligent " of those that are pursuing and destroying " our enemies, and fighting in case there " are any that oppose them; that they find " we have dined before. We know what " they are doing; how can it happen o-" therwise, than that we shall appear vile " in their fight, and lofe our strength by " losing our allies? but to be careful that "they who are engaged in fatigues and dangers, may have all necessaries ready " for them when they come in; This, I " fay, is the treat that should more delight " you than the present gratification of your " bellies. And confider, faid he, that if " we were to act without any respect to our " friends, yet to cram with meat and " drink, is not at all proper with regard to "ourselves. For we have a great many " enemies in the camp, loofe and uncon-" fined; it is our business to be upon our " guard against them, and to keep a guard " upon them, that we may have people to " do all necessary things for us. Our horse " are absent, and give us cause to be in " fome concern and doubt, where they are, " whether they are to come back to us, or whether they are to stay. So that in my opinion,

254 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. " opinion, friends! the meat and drink " the most for our purpose at present, " ought to be, what one can imagine of " most use to preserve us from being drowsy " and remifs.—Yet farther, I know that " there are great treasures in the camp. " And I am not ignorant that it is in our " power to appropiate to ourfelves what we " please of these things, that belong in " common to all that were jointly concern-" ed with us in taking them: but I am of " opinion that our taking them to ourselves " cannot be a greater gain to us, than by " making ourselves appear to these men to " be just and honest, to purchase by that " means still a greater share in their affec-" tion than we have yet obtained. And I " am of opinion, faid he, to give up the dif-" tribution of these treasures, to the Medes, " Hyrcanians, and Tygranes, when they " come: and even to reckon it an advan-" tage if they allot us the smallest share. " For by means of their profit they will, " with the more pleasure remain with us. " And the taking a present advantage, may " indeed afford us short-lived riches; but " they that give up this acquire by it in " return those things from whence riches " flow. And in my opinion, this may " procure much more lasting riches to us " and ours. — It was for this end I think, "that we practifed at home that conti-

" nence

" nence and command over ourselves in " the concerns of the belly, and in matters " of unreasonable profit; that we might " be able, when occasion served, to make " use of these qualities for our advantage. " And upon what greater occasion, than " the present one, we can shew the virtue " of our institution, I do not see."

Thus he spoke; and Hystaspes, a Perfian, and one of the alike-honoured, spoke in favour of his opinion in this manner; " It were indeed a fad cafe, Cyrus! if, in "hunting, we can continually mafter our-" felves, and abstain from food, in order " to get possession of some beast, and per-" haps of very little value; and when we " are in pursuit of all that's valuable in the " world, we should not think it very un-" becoming us to fuffer ourselves to be " stopped in our course by any of those " things, that have the command indeed " of mean men, but are inferior and fub-" fervient to the deferving." Thus spoke Hystaspes in support of Cyrus's opinion; the rest approved it. Then Cyrus said, "Well "then, fince we agree in these matters, " do you fend out five men of each com-" pany, and fuch as are the most diligent " and careful; let these march round; " and those whom they find imploy'd in " providing the necessaries let them com-" mend:

" mend: those whom they find negligent

" let them castife, without sparing them,

" any more than if they themselves were

"their masters." These men executed their orders.

By this time some of the Medes drove up feveral waggons, that had fet out before from the camp, and that they had taken and turned back, loaden with things that the army was in want of. Some of them brought chariots that they had taken, fome full of the most considerable women; who were some of them of the legitimate fort, others of them courtezans that were convey'd up and down by these people upon the account of their beauty. For to this day all the inhabitants of Aha, in time of war, attend the fervice accompanied with what they value the most; and say that they fight the better when the things that are most dear to them are present. For they fay that they must of necessity defend these with zeal and ardour. Perhaps indeed it is fo; but perhaps they do it only to indulge their pleasure.

CYRUS observing the things that were performed by the Medes and Hyrcanians, was almost angry with himself and with those that were with him; for the others seemed to outshine them at that time, and

to be continually making fome advantage or other, while they themselves stood quiet in an idle station. For they that brought the prizes, after shewing them to Cyrus rode off again in pursuit of others; for they faid that they were ordered fo to do by their commanders. Cyrus, though nettled at this, yet ordered the things away to a particular station; then calling the centurions again together and standing in a place where what he faid might be heard, he spoke thus; -- I believe, friends! "We " are all convinced that if we had had the " taking of these things that have just now "appeared before us, all the Perfians in " general would have been great gain-" ers, and we probably the greatest who " had been personally concerned in the ac-But how we who are not able of " ourselves to acquire these things, can " possibly get them into our possession, I " do not yet fee unless the Persians procure " a body of horse of their own: for you " observe said he, that we Persians are pos-" fessed of arms that are proper to repel " enemies that will close with us; but " when they are once repuls'd, what horfe-" men, archers, targeteers or dartsmen, " while we are without horse, can we pos-" fibly take or destroy in their flight? Who " would fear to annoy us, whether archers, "dartsmen, or horse, when they know very Kk

258 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. " well that there's no more danger of re-" ceiving any hurt from us, than from " trees that grow fixed in the ground? If " these things are thus, is it not plain that " the horsemen now with us reckon all " things, that fall into our hands not less " theirs than ours? Nay perhaps even " more? Upon this foot therefore do things " now necessarily stand. But if we get a " body of horse not inferior to themselves, " is it not evident to you all that we shall " be able, without them, to perform the " fame things against the enemy that we " now do with them? and that we shall " have them in a more humble disposition " towards us? For when they have a mind " either to go or stay, it will be of less " concern to us, if we are of ourselves, " fufficient without them. But be this as " it will, yet no one, I believe, will be of " a contrary opinion to me in this, that " for the Persians to have a body of horse " of their own, is not a matter that is en-" tirely indifferent. — But then perhaps you are confidering how this can be " brought about. ——Supposing then that " we incline to constitute a body of horse, " let us examine what it is we have, and " what it is we want. Here are horses in " great number that are left in the camp; " and there are bridles to manage them; " and all other things that are proper for " the

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. " the use of such as keep horses. And we " have likewise the things that are proper " for the use of a horseman himself; cor-" felets for the defence of his body, and " lances that we may either use in throw-" ing or at hand. What then remains? It " is plain we must have men. And these " we have more certainly than any thing; " for there is nothing fo much belongs to " us as we do to ourfelves.—But perhaps " fome body will fay, that we do not un-" derstand it. — Nor, by Jove! have any " of those who understand it now, attain-" ed the skill before they learn'd it. — But " they learn'd it, fome body may fay, when " they were boys.—And have boys the bet-" ter faculty to learn things, that are told "them, or shewn them, or have men? "And when they have once learn'd, which of them have bodies the most able to un-" dergo labour, boys or men? Then, we " have that leifure for learning, that nei-"ther boys have, nor other men. For we " have neither the use of the bow to learn " as boys have; for we know it already; " nor throwing of the javelin, for we know " that too; nor have we that continual " employment that other men have, fome " in agriculture, fome in trades, and fome in other particular affairs. We have not " only leifure to practife military affairs, but we are under a necessity of doing it. Kk 2 ee Not

Nor is this, as many other military mat-"ters are, a thing of difficulty, as well as " of use; for is it not pleasanter upon the " road to be on horseback, than to travel " on foot? and where dispatch is required " is it not a pleasure, to get quickly to a " friend, when there is occasion? or readi-" ly to overtake either a man or a beast in "the pursuit? And is it not a convenience, "that whatever arms are proper to be car-"i ried, the horse helps to carry them? For "to have arms and to carry them is the " fame thing. And as to what one may " have most reason to fear, that we may " perhaps be oblig'd to come to action on "horseback, before we are yet well skill'd in " the work; and that we may become nei-"ther able footmen, nor able horsemen; " even this is not a difficulty that is un-" conquerable. For whenever we please, " we are immediately at liberty to fight on " foot; nor shall we unlearn any thing of " our skill as footmen by learning to ride.

Thus Cyrus spoke; and Chrysantas speaking in favour of the same opinion, said thus;
"I am, said he, so desirous of learning to
"ride, that I reckon, were I a horseman,
"I should be a slying man. As matters
"now stand, were I to run a race with a
"man, I should be contented if I got but
"by the head before him; or if I saw a
"beast

Institution of Cyrus. Book IV. " beast running by, I would be contented, " if upon the stretch, I could contrive to " reach him with my bow or javelin before " he got at a great distance from me. But if " I become a horseman, I shall be able to " kill any man though at as great a dif-" tance as I can fee; and in the pursuit of " beafts, fome I shall be able to come up " with and to strike them at hand, others " I shall be able to reach with my javelin, " as well as if they stood still; for if two " creatures are fwift alike they continue as " near to each other as if they stood still. " Of all creatures, they, that, I think, raise " my envy and emulation the most, are " the centaurs; if there were ever any. " Creatures that with the understanding of " man, are capable of contrivance and " forecast; who with their hands can ef-" fect what is proper to be done; and have "the fwiftness and strength of the horse, " fo as to overtake what flies them, and " overturn what opposes them. So, when " I am a horseman, all these powers do I " carry with me. I shall be able to con-" trive things with my understanding, as a " man; my arms I shall carry in my hands; " with my horse I shall pursue; and by my " horse's strength overturn what opposes " me. But then I shall not be bound down " and grow to him, like the centaurs; and

this is certainly better than to be incor-

" porated

CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV " porated with him. For centaurs, I fan-" cy, must be at a loss both how to use se-" veral conveniencies discovered by men; " and how to enjoy feveral pleasures natu-" ral to horses. But I, when I have learn'd " to ride, and am mounted on horseback, " shall perform the part of a centaur; and " when I dismount, I shall take my meals, " cloath myself, and take my rest, as o-" ther men do. So that what am I but a " centaur, free and separable when I please; " and then, when I please, of a piece a-" gain? Besides, I have this advantage of " the centaur, faid he, that he faw but " with two eyes, and heard but with two " ears; but I shall see with four eyes, and " receive notice of things by means of four " ears. For the horse, they say, discovers " to men many things that he before-hand " fees with his own eyes; and gives them " notice of many things that he before-" hand hears with his own ears. Write " me down therefore, as one of those that " are defirous to ferve on horfeback," "—And us too, faid all the others."—— Upon this Cyrus faid; "Since then, faid "he, we are so much of this opinion; " what if we should make it a law, that it " should be scandalous, for any of those " amongst us, that I furnish with horses, " to be feen travelling on foot, let the way " he is to go be little or great; that men

" may imagine we are entirely centaurs?" - This proposal he made them; and they all gave their confent. So that at this day the Persians still put it in practice; and none of the confiderable men among the Perhans are ever to be feen travelling on foot of their own good will.

THESE men were employ'd in these discourses. But when the middle of the day was past, the Median horse and the Hyrcanians rode up and brought with them both horses and men that they had taken. For as many as delivered their arms they did not kill. When they rode up, Cyrus first asked them, whether they were all come fafe? When they faid they were; he then ask'd what they had done? And they related the things that they had performed; and gave magnificent accounts how manfully, they had acted in every particular. He hearken'd with pleasure to all that they had a mind to tell him; and then commended them thus; "It is apparent, how " well you have behaved, for you are now " in appearance taller, more beautiful, and " more terrible than before!" He then ask'd them, "How far they had gone? and " whether the country was inhabited?" They told him, "They had gone a great " way; that the whole country was inha-" bited, and full of sheep, goats, oxen and " horses,

" horfes, corn, and all valuable things." " There are two things then, faid he, that " we are to take care of; how to subject " the people that are the possessors of these " things; and how to make them remain " upon the place. For a country well in-" habited is a very valuable aquifition; " but one destitute of men is destitute of " every thing that is good. All those that " stood to their defence, faid he, I know " you have killed; and you did right: for " this is of the greatest importance for the " maintaining of a victory. Those that de-" livered their arms you have taken. And " if we difmiss them, we should do what, I " fay, would turn to our advantage: for, " first we shall not be under a necessity of " being upon our guard against them; nor " of keeping a guard upon them; nor of " furnishing them with provisions, for cer-" tainly we should not be for starving " them; Then by difmissing them, we " shall have the greater number of cap-" tives; for, if we conquer the country, " all will be our captives, that inhabit it; " and the rest, when they see these living " and fet at liberty, will the more readily " remain, and rather chuse to submit than " to continue in war. — This is my judg-" ment; but if any other person sees what " is better, let him fay it." --- But they, having heard these things agreed to act ac-So cordingly.

So Cyrus, having call'd for the prisoners, fpoke thus. "Friends! faid he, by your " prefent fubmission, you have preserv'd " your lives. And for the future, if you behave in the fame manner, no ill what-" ever shall befal you, unless it be that the " fame person will not govern you, that " govern'd you before : but you shall inha-" bit the same houses; and you shall cul-" tivate the fame territory; and you shall " live with the fame wives; and you shall rule your children as you do now; but " you shall neither make war upon us, nor " upon any one else; and if any other in-" jure you, we will fight for you. And "that no body may order you out upon " military fervice, bring your arms to us. " And to those that bring them, peace! " and what I promife shall be made good " to them without fraud. But we will make " war upon those that refuse to lay their " arms afide. But then if any of you shall " come to us, and shall appear to do any " action, or to give any information, in " friendship and good will to us; him will " we treat as a benefactor and a friend, not " as a flave. Let these things therefore be " known to you; and do you tell them to And if there are any that " the rest. " will not comply with us in these things " that we require, do you lead us the way " to them, that we may make ourselves Ll " masters

" masters of them, and they not masters of us." Thus he spoke.—They paid him their adoration, and said that they would perform what he enjoin'd them.

WHEN they were gone, Cyrus faid, " It " is time, O Medes, and Armenians! for all " of us to take our fuppers. " things proper have been made ready for " you in the best manner that we were " able. Go your ways then, and fend us " half the bread that has been made; for " there has enough been made for us both; " but fend us neither meat with it, nor " any thing to drink; for of these we have " enough with us already provided. And " do you, faid he, O Hyrcanians! conduct "them to the tents; the commanders to " the greatest (for you know which they " are) and the others as you think most " proper. And do you likewise take your " fuppers, where it is most agreeable to " you; for the tents are untouched, and " all things are provided there for you as " well as for the others, But let this be " know to you both, that we undertake to " keep the night watch without. Do you " look to what passes in the tents, and " place your arms within; for they who " are in the tents, are not yet our friends."

THE Medes then and Tygranes's people bath'd themselves; (for all matters for that purpose had been provided) and having changed their cloaths, took their suppers. And their horses were provided with all ne-Half their bread they fent to ceffaries. the Persians; but sent no meat with it, nor wine; thinking that Cyrus's people were provided with those things, because he had faid that they had them in plen-But what Cyrus meant, was, that the meat they had with their bread was hunger, and their drink was the water of a stream that ran by. Cyrus therefore having given the *Prefians* their fupper, fent many of them out as foon as it was dark in fives and tens, and commanded them to march round the camp privately; judging that they would be a guard to it, if any enemy came upon them from without; and that if any one ran off with treasure of any kind they might take him. And it happened fo; for there were many that ran away; and many were taken. Cyrus allow'd the treasures to those that seized them; but ordered them to kill the men. So that afterwards, even though one defired it, one could not eafily meet with a man that was going any where in the night. And thus the Persians employed themselves. But the Medes drank and feasted, entertained themfelves with the musick of flutes; and indulged LI 2

dulged themselves in all kinds of delight and pleasure; for a multitude of things of that fort had been taken. So that they who were upon the watch, were in no want of work.

But Cyaxares king of the Medes, that night that Cyrus marched away, was drunk himself, as well as those that were of his company in the tent; it being upon an occasion of happy success. And he thought that the rest of the Medes, excepting only fome few, were still remaining in the camp, because he heard a mighty noise and uproar. For the fervants of the Medes, upon their masters being gone, drank without ceasing and were very tumultuous: and the more because they had taken from the Assyrian army great quantities of wine, and abundance of other fuch things. As foon as the day came, and that no body attended at his doors but they that had supped with him; and that he heard that the camp was left empty by the Medes and by their horse; and that he himself, when he went out, faw that this was really the case; he then broke out into a rage at their going away and leaving him destitute. And as he is said to have been very violent and rash, he immediately commanded one of those about him to take some horse with him, and march with the utmost dispatch to the army that was with

Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. with Cyrus, and to fay thus. - " I was of " opinion, Cyrus! that even you would " not have engaged in councils, fo impru-" dent and ill for me; or if Cyrus might " have thought fit to do fo, I did not think "that you Medes, would have confented to " leave me thus destitute. Now therefore, " whether Cyrus will or will not, do you " come away to me with the utmost di-" fpatch." — This meffage he fent them; but he that received these orders to march. faid ;-" But how, O fovereign! shall I be " able to find them?" " And how should Cyrus, faid he, find those that he marched " after?" "Truly because, said he, as I " hear, certain Hyrcanians, who belonged " to the enemy, and who had revolted and " came thither, went and led them the " way." Cyaxares hearing this, was in a much greater rage at Cyrus for not having told it him; and he fent in much more haste to the Medes, that he might strip him of his forces; he ordered them back with more vehemence than before, and with threats. The messenger likewise he threaten'd in case he did not discharge himself with vigour in the delivery of his message.

THE person that was thus sent, marched with about a hundred of his own horse; and was grieved that he himself had not gone with Cyrus. As they proceeded in their

their march, the roads dividing, they lost their way in a beaten track; and could not get to Cyrus's army, till meeting with some Asyrians that were retiring, they forced them to be their guides; and by this means getting sight of their fires they got up with them about midnight. When they were got to the army, the guards, as was ordered them by Cyrus, did not admit them before day.

And when day appeared, Cyrus calling to him the mages, commanded to choose out what was due to the Gods, upon the occafion of fuch advantages as they had obtain-These men employed themselves accordingly —— He having fummoned the alike-honoured spoke to them thus. " My " friends! God is pleased to lay many ad-" vantages before us; but we, O Persians! " are at present but few in number to se-" cure to ourselves the possession of them. " For the things that we have already " gained, unless we secure them by a guard, " will fall again into the power of others; " and if we leave fome of ourselves as " guards to fecure the things that are al-" ready in our power, we shall immediate-" ly be found to have no manner of strength " remaining. --- My opinion is therefore, " that some one among you should go as " foon as possible to the Persians; acquaint them

Institution of CYRUS. Book IV. " them with what I fay; and bid them " fend an army as foon as possibly they can, " if the Perhans defire that the dominion " of Aha and the revenues that arise from " it should belong to them. — Go there-" fore, faid he, you who are the oldest " man! and when you arrive fay thus; " That whatever foldiers they fend, when " they come to me it shall be my care to " maintain. You fee all the advantages that " we have gained; conceal no part of them. "What part of these things it will be hand-" fome and just for me to fend to the gods, " ask of my father; what to the public, ask " of the magistrates. Let them send peo-" ple to fee what we do, and to acquaint " them with what we defire from them.-" Do you, faid he, make yourself ready, " and take your company to attend you."

AFTER this, he called the Medes, and with them Cyaxares's messenger appeared, and before all decleared Cyaxares's anger to Cyrus, and his threats to the Medes; and in conclusion said; "That he commanded the "Medes to come away though Cyrus should incline to stay." The Medes upon hearing the messenger, were silent; not knowing how they should disobey his summons; and yet in fear how they should yield obedience to him upon his threats; especially, knowing the violence of the man. But Cy-

272 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. rus then spoke; "I do not at all wonder, " faid he, O messenger! and you Medes! " that Cyaxares who had then feen a mul-" titude of enemies, and knew not what " we were doing, should be under concern " both for us and for himself. But when " he knows that a great many of the ene-" my are destroyed, and that they are all " driven away before us, he will first cease " to fear; and will then be convinced that " he is not destitute at this time, when his " friends are destroying his enemies. " how is it possible that we can deserve reproach for doing him fervice? and that " not of our own heads neither? for I pre-" vailed with him to allow me to march; and to take you with me. It was not you that from any defire of your own to march begg'd his leave to do it, and fo came hither; but it was upon orders " from himself to go, given to every one of you that was not averse to it. I am therefore very well fatisfied that this an-" ger of his will be allay'd by our fuccesses, and when his fear ceases will quite va-" nish. Now therefore, do you, messen-" ger! take a little rest, since you have " undergone a great deal of fatigue. Let " us, O Persians! since we expect the ene-" my to be with us either to fight, or to " fubmit themselves, keep ourselves in the " best order; for while we are observed to " be Book IV. Institution of CYRUS. 273
"be so, it is probable we shall succeed the better, in what we desire. And do you, faid he, prince of the Hyrcanians! attend here, after you have commanded the leaders of your men to call them to

" arms.

WHEN the Hyrcanians had done this and came to him, Cyrus said. - " It is a plea-" fure to me, O Hyrcanian! not only to " perceive that you attend here after hav-" ing given us marks of your friendship; " but that you appear to me to be a man " of great ability. It is evident that the " fame things are now alike advantageous " to us both. For the Assyrians are ene-" mies to me; and are now more at enmi-" ty with you than with myfelf. We must " both of us therefore confult how to pre-" vent any of our allies that are at prefent " with us, from falling off from us, and " if we can how to acquire others. You " have heard the Mede deliver his orders " to recall their cavalry. If they leave us, " how can we, that are foot, remain alone? "You and I therefore must contrive, that " this messenger, who recalls them shall " himself desire to stay with us. Do you " therefore find out for him and give him " a tent where he may pass his time in the " handsomest manner, and with all things " convenient about him. I will endeavour Mm

" to employ him upon some business that

" will be more agreeable to him to do, than

" it will be to leave us. Do you discourse

" him upon the many advantages we hope

" all our friends will make in case we are

" well supplied with every thing necessary.

" And when you have done this, come

" again to me." The Hyrcanian went

" and conducted the Mede to a tent.

AND he that was going to the Persians attended ready prepared. Cyrus directed him to tell the Persians the things he had before mentioned in his discourse to him; and to deliver Cyaxares a letter—"But, 'if said he, I have a mind to read you what 'I write, that being apprized of the mat- 'if ter, you may own it if any body ask you 'if about it."—The contents of the letter were thus.

CYRUS to CYAXARES.

"JOY and HAPPINESS!-—- we have neither left you destitute; (for no body while they conquer their ene"mies can be destitute of friends;) Nor when we left you did we imagine that we brought you into danger: but at the greater distance we were from you so much the more security did we reckon we procured you: for they that sit them"selves"

Institution of Cyrus. Book IV. 275 " felves down the nearest to their friends " are not the men that best afford their " friends fecurity: but they that drive their " enemies at the greatest distance are the " men, that put their friends the most out " of danger.—Confider then what your " conduct has been to me, in return of " what mine has been to you, that you " can yet blame me. I brought you triends " and allies; not as many as you could " perswade, but as many as I was able. "You gave me while I was yet upon " friendly ground, as many as I could per-" fwade to follow me; and now that I am " in the enemy's territory you recall not " every one that is willing to be gone, but " all. At that time therefore I thought " myself obliged both to yourself and " them. But now you force me to leave " you out, and to endeavour to make all " my returns of gratitude and thanks to " those that followed me. And yet I can-" not act like you; but am now fending " to the Persians for an army, and give or-" ders that whatever numbers are fent me, " if you should be in any want of them " before they reach us, you are free to use " them, not according to their liking, but " as you yourself please. And though I " am the younger man -- yet I advise you " not to take away what you have once " given least you meet with ill-will, instead Mm 2 " of

of thanks; and when you would have any one to come quickly to you, not to fend for him with threats; and when you talk of being destitute, not to threaten a multitude least you teach them not to mind you.— We will endeavour to attend you, as soon as we have effected the things that we judge to be of advantage both to you and us.—

" Health attend you."

"Deliver him this letter, and whatever he asks you upon the subject of these ast fairs, do you answer conformably to what is here written. For with respect to the *Persians* I give you such orders as are express'd in the letter."—Having said thus to him and given him the letter he dismiss'd him; enjoining him withal to use diligence; as taking it for granted, that it would be of great advantage to him to be quickly back again.

AFTER this, he observed all the Hyrcanians and Tygranes's men already armed. And the Persians were likewise armed. At which time some of the neighbouring people brought in horses and arms. Such of the javelins as they were not themselves in want of, he order'd them to throw upon the place, where he had order'd others before; and those, whose business it was, he order'd

Institution of Cyrus. Book IV. to burn them. But he commanded those who brought the horses to stay and look to them till he lignified his intentions to them. Then calling to him the commanders of the horse, and those of the Hyrcanians, he spoke in this manner. — " My friends and " allies! do not wonder, faid he, that I " call you frequently together; for our s present circumstances are new to us; " many things are yet in disorder; and " things that are in disorder must of neces-" fity give us trouble till they are fettled in " their proper places. We have now in our " power many treasures, as well as men " captive; and by our not knowing which " of these belong to each of us, and by " their not knowing who is to each of " them feverally master, there are not ma-" ny of them that we fee performing their " proper parts; but almost all of them are " at a loss what to do. That things there-" fore may not continue thus, do you dif-" tribute them. Whoever is in possession " of a tent fully supplied with provisions " of meat and drink, with fervants, car-" pets and apparel, and with all other " things that a tent well accommodated for " military fervice is furnish'd with; here, "there is nothing further necessary than " that the possessor should understand that " it is his part to take care of these things s' as his own property. But where any " one 278 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV.
" one is posses'd of a tent where those

" things are wanting, after you have dif" cover'd it upon examination, do you fup-

" ply what falls short. For I know there

" will be of many things more than enough;

" because the enemy was posses'd of every thing in greater proportion than suits our

" numbers. Besides there have been with

" me certain stewards, belonging to the

" Assyrian king and their other great men, who have told me that they had by them

" fums of gold in coin, arifing as they faid,

" from certain tributary payments. Make

" proclamation therefore that these things

" be brought to you where you fit. And

" denounce terror and punishments to who-

" foever does not execute what you com-

" mand them. Do you receive these things

" and distribute them: to the horsemen,

" double payments; to the foot, fingle; that in case you want any thing you may

" have wherewithal to buy. And have it

" presently proclaimed that no body injure

"the camp-market; but that the futlers

" and tradefmen fell what each of them

the for fele and when they have diff

" has for fale; and when they have dif-

" posed of these that they fetch more; that

" the camp may be supplied."

THEY immediately had these things proclaimed. But the *Medes* and *Hyrcanians* spoke in this manner: "And how can we, "said Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. 'a faid they, distribute these things, without " you and your people?" Cyrus to this question replied thus; " Is this then, " friends! faid he, your opinion, that, " whatever is to be done we must all of " us attend upon it? And shall not I be " thought sufficient by you to transact any " thing for you that may be proper, nor " you sufficient to transact for us? By what " other means can we possibly create our-" felves more trouble, and do less business " than by acting thus? But you fee, faid " he, that we have been the guards that " have kept these things for you; and you " have reposed a confidence in us, that " they have been well and faithfully guard-" ed. Do you on the other fide distribute " these things; and we will repose a con-" fidence in you that they have been well " and justly distributed. And upon other " occasions we will endeavour to perform " fome other public fervice.— And now in " the first place, you observe, how many " horses we have at present, and that others " are continually bringing to us: if we " leave these without riders they will be of " no manner of use to us, and will give us " trouble to take care of them. But if we " fet horsemen upon them, we shall be " freed from the trouble and shall add to " our strength. If you have others that " you would give them to, with whom it " would

280 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. " would be more pleafing to you to act " with upon any occasion in war, than " with us; give them the horses. But if " you would rather have us for supports " and affiftants, give them to us " when you push'd on before us in the late " fervice without us, you put us under " great apprehension, least you should " come by fome misfortune; and you made " us ashamed that we were not at hand " wherever you were. But if we once get " horses, we will follow you; and if it be " thought of most service to engage on " horfeback in concert with you, we shall " lose nothing of our ardour and zeal; but " if it be thought most proper to support " you on foot, then to alight will be ob-" vious and easy to us; we shall be ready " at your hands on foot; and will contrive " to find people to deliver our horses to."

Thus he spoke: and they replied; "We have neither men to mount upon the horses, nor, if we had, would we come to any other determination, since you would have it thus. Take then, said they, the horses, and do as you think best." "I receive them, said he, and may good fortune attend upon our becoming horsemen! — Do you divide the things that are in common. But first take out for the GODS whatever the Mages "shall

" for Cyaxares as you think most accepta-

" ble to him." They laugh'd and faid,

"That beautiful women then, were what

" should be chosen for him." " Chuse

" women then, faid he, and whatever elfe

" you think proper: and when you have chosen for him, then do you, Hyrcanians!

" do all you can to give entire content to

" all these men that have voluntarily fol-

" low'd me. And you, O Medes! reward

" these our first allies in such a manner; as

" may convince them that they took a right

" resolution when they became our friends.

"And out of the whole give a share to the

" messenger that is come from Cyaxares,

" both to himself, and the men that are

" with him, and exhort him to stay with

With film, and exhibit film to itay with

" us, as being my opinion jointly with yours, that by means of his being bet-

"ter informed of every particular, he may

" represent to Cyaxares a full state of things.

" For the Persians, said he, that are with

" me, let what remains over and above, af-

" ter you are all well provided for, be fuf-

" ficient. For, faid he, we have not been

" brought up in a nice, delicate way; but

" in a course rustick manner. So that per-

" haps you may laugh at us, if there

" should happen to be any thing fine and

" magnificent left for our share. As I

" know very well, faid he, we shall give

N n " you

"you a great deal of laughter and diver"fion, when we are fet on horseback:
"and so we shall do I believe, said he,
"when we are thrown from off our horses
"to the ground."——Upon this they went
their ways to the distribution, laughing
heartily at this new body of horse.

But he calling the centurions to him, order'd them to take the horses, the horsefurniture, and the men that were to take care of them; and after having numbered them and drawn lots by centuries, to take each of them alike number. Cyrus himfelf ordered them to make proclamation, "That " whatever flave there might be either in " the Assyrian, Syrian, or Arabian armies, " whether he were Mede, Persian, Bactrian, " Carian, Cilician, or Greek, or of any o-" ther country, forced to ferve, that he " fhould appear." These men hearing the proclamation, appeared joyfully before him in great numbers. And he, having chosen from amongst them the most personable and fightly men, told them that they should now become free; and bear fuch arms as he would give them. To supply them with all necessaries, he said, should be his care. And bringing them immediately to the centurions he put them under their care; and commanded them to give them shields and a fmaller fort of fwords, that being thus equipped

" my

equipped they might attend the horse; that they should take all necessaries for these men as well as for the Persians that were with him; that they themselves with their corselets and lances should always march on horseback; and he began it himself, and that over the foot of the alike-honoured, they should each of them, out of the number of the alike-honoured, appoint a commander in his own stead. In these affairs were these men employed.

MEAN while, Gobrias an Affyrian and a man in years, arrived on horfeback; attended by fome cavalry, confifting of his own departments; and they were all provided with arms proper for horse. They that had been appointed to receive the arms bid them deliver their lances, that they might burn them as they had done others before; but Gobrias said, that he defired first to see Cyrus. Then they that attended this fervice left the other horsemen behind and conducted Gobrias to Cyrus. And as foon as he faw Cyrus he fpoke thus. "My " fovereign lord! I am by birth an Affyrian; " I have a strong fortress in my possession; " and have the command of a large terri-" tory. I furnished the Assyrian king with " a thousand horse; and was very much " his friend. But fince he, who was an " excellent man, has loft his life in the " war against you, and that his son who is

Nn 2

" my greatest enemy now possesses the go-" vernment, I come and throw myfelf at " your feet as a supplicant! and give my-" felf to you as a servant and affistant in " the war! I beg you to be my revenger! . I make you my fon as far as it is possible. " With respect to male issue I am child-" less; for he O sovereign! that was my " only one, an excellent youth! who loved " and honoured me to as great a degree as " a fon could do to make a father happy! " him- did the prefent king (the late " king, the father of the prefent, having " fent for my fon, as intending to give him " his daughter, and I fent him away proud " that I should see my son married to the " daughter of the king) him—did the pre-" fent king invite to hunt with him as with " a friend. And upon a bear appearing " in view, they both purfued. The pre-" fent king having thrown his javelin " mis'd his aim! — O! that it had not " happened fo! —And my fon making his " throw,—unhappy thing !— brought the " bear to the ground! He was then en-" raged, but kept his envy concealed. But " then again a lion falling in their way, he " again miss'd; and that it should happen " fo to him I do not think at all wonder-" ful; but my fon again hitting his mark, killed the lion; and faid I have twice thrown fingle javelins and brought the " beafts Book IV. Institution of Cyrus. " beafts both times to the ground. Upon " this, the impious wretch contained his " malice no longer! but fnatching a lance " from one of his followers, struck it into " his breast, and took away the life of my " dear and only fon! Then I, miserable " man! brought him away a corpfe, in-" flead of a bridegroom! and I, who am " of these years, buried him my excellent " and beloved fon, a youth but just beard-" ed!-His murderer, as if he had de-" stroyed an enemy, has never yet appear-" ed to have had any remorfe; nor has he in " amends for the vile action, ever youch-" fafed to pay any honour to him who is " now under the ground! His father indeed " had compassion, and plainly appeared to " join in affliction with me at this my mif-" fortune! Therefore had he lived I had " never applied to you to his prejudice; " for I had received a great many instances " of friendship from him, and I served " him. But fince the government is fallen " to the murderer of my fon, I can never " possibly bear him the least good-will; " nor can he I know very well ever reckon " me his friend; for he knows how I stand " affected towards him, how I who lived " with that joy and fatisfaction before, must now stand in this destitute condi-"tion paffing my old age in forrow! If " you receive me therefore, and that I can " have

" have the hopes of obtaining by your

" means a revenge for my dear fon, I shall

" think I arise again to new life! I shall

" neither be ashamed to live, nor, if I die,

" do I think that I shall end my days with

" grief!"

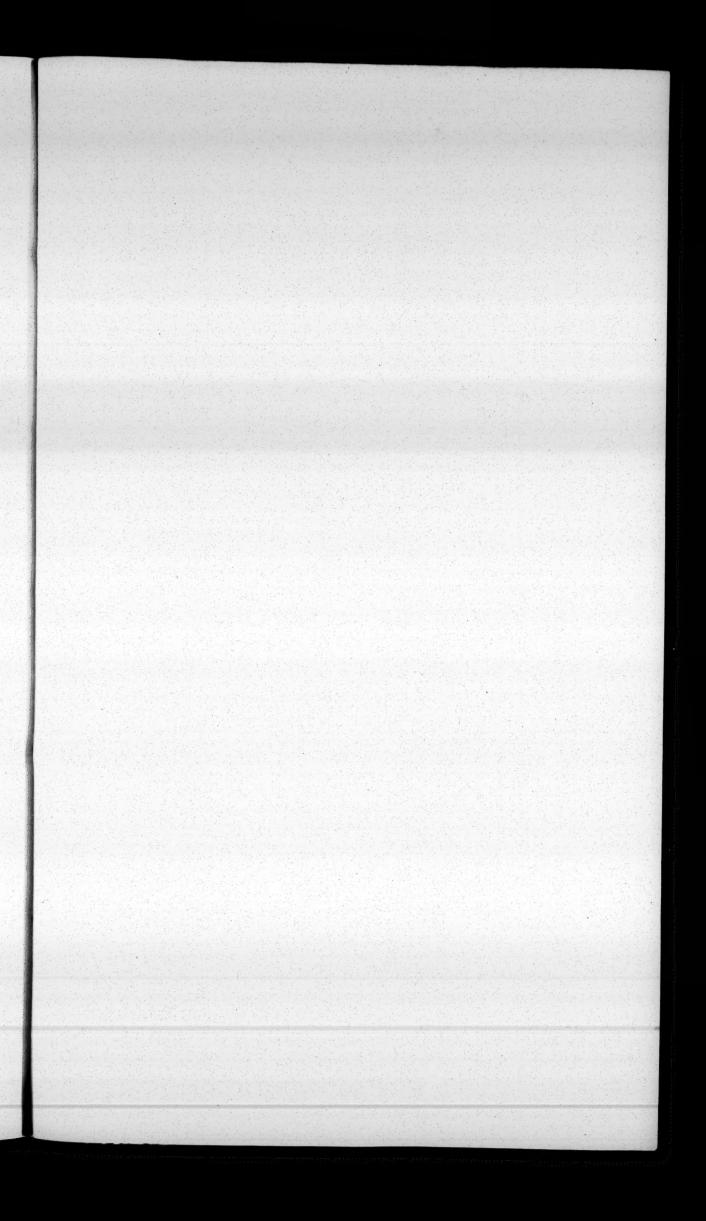
Thus he spoke. And Cyrus replied; "If " you make it appear, Gobrias! that you " really are in that disposition towards us " that you express: I receive you as our " supplicant, and with the help of the " gods! I promise to revenge you on the " murderer! But tell me, said he, if we " effect these things for you, and allow " you to hold your fortress, your territory, " and your arms, and the power that you " had before; what fervice will you do for " us in return of these things?" He then " faid " My fortress I will yield you for " your habitation whenever you please; the " fame tribute for my territory that I used " to pay to him, I will pay to you; wher-" ever you shall make war I will attend " you in the service with the forces of my " territory: and I have befides, faid he, " a maiden daughter, that I tenderly love, " just of an age for marriage; one that I " formerly reckoned I brought up as a wife " for the person now reigning; but she " herself has now begged me, with many " tears and fighs, not to give her to the " mur-

Institution of Cyrus. Book IV. 287 " murderer of her brother! And I join with " her in opinion: I here give you leave to " deal with her as I appear to deal by you." Then Cyrus faid "Upon these terms, said " he, with truth and fincerity do I give you " my right hand and accept of yours. Let " the gods be witnesses between us." When these things had past, he bid Gobrias go, and keep his arms. And he asked him at what distance his habitation was? it being his intention to go thither. He then faid, " If you march to-morrow morning you " may quarter with us the next day." So Gobrias went away and left a guide.

THE Medes then came, after having delivered to the mages fuch things as they had faid were to be chosen for the gods. they had chosen for Cyrus a most beautiful tent, a Sufian woman that was faid to have been the most beautiful woman in all Afia, and two other women that were the finest fingers. And they chose the same things over again for Cyaxares. They had fully fupplied themselves with all such things as they wanted, that they might be in want of nothing, in the course of their service in the war; for there were all things in great abundance. The Hyrcanians took likewise whatever they wanted. And they made Cyaxares's messenger an equal sharer with them. As many tents as were remain-

288 CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. ing over and above they gave to Cyrus, that the Persians might have them. The money they faid they would divide as foon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly. These things did these men do and say. But Cyrus ordered such men to take and keep the things that belong'd to Cyaxares, as he knew to be most intimate with him, "And " all that you give me, faid he, I accept " with pleafure; but he among you, faid " he, that is the most in want of them, " shall have the use of them." A certain Mede who was a lover of music then said: " In the evening, Cyrus! I heard those " fingers that you now have; and I heard " them with pleasure. If you would give " me one of them, I believe it will be a " greater pleafure to me to attend the fer-" vice of the war than to stay at home." Then Cyrus faid, "I give her you, and I " think myfelf more obliged to you for " asking her of me, than you are to me " for having her; fo very defirous am I to " please you all." So then he asked for this woman and took her.

The end of the first VOLUME.



CYROPÆDIA: Or, Book IV. 288 ing over and above they gave to Cyrus, that the Persians might have them. The money they faid they would divide as foon as it was collected; and they divided it accordingly. These things did these men do and say. But Cyrus ordered fuch men to take and keep the things that belong'd to Cyaxares, as he knew to be most intimate with him, "And " all that you give me, faid he, I accept " with pleasure; but he among you, said " he, that is the most in want of them, " shall have the use of them." A certain Mede who was a lover of music then said: " In the evening, Cyrus! I heard those " fingers that you now have; and I heard " them with pleasure. If you would give " me one of them, I believe it will be a " greater pleasure to me to attend the ser-" vice of the war than to stay at home." Then Cyrus faid, "I give her you, and I "think myfelf more obliged to you for " asking her of me, than you are to me " for having her; fo very defirous am I to " please you all." So then he asked for this woman and took her.

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